

BULLETIN OF
THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY
MANCHESTER

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No. 1

LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

AT the January meeting of the Council of Governors the sixteenth annual report was presented, in which the work of the library during the past year was reviewed. As the circulation of this report is restricted to the governing body of the library it may not be out of place in these pages briefly to summarize such portions of the information which it contains as are likely to be of interest to our readers.

As we looked forward at the commencement of the year it was not unnatural to anticipate a decline in the library's THE YEAR activities. We had become obsessed by the war; it 1915. had entered into every phase of our work, and at times it seemed to overshadow, if not actually to obscure all our visions of usefulness. It is therefore with feelings of relief, as we look back, that we find our gloomy forebodings have not been realized.

Libraries, museums, and art galleries have been marked down as victims of municipal and state retrenchment to an extent which astonishes all who care for the intellectual future of England, and we are grateful to the Editor of the "Saturday Review" for the strong and timely protest which he raised against this mistaken policy. "It will not materially help the country financially to economize in things of the mind, or in any of the things which give a genuine grace and dignity to life. The financial results of such economy are small, and they are tremendously outweighed by the irreparable loss to the country of intellectual force, and of all means by which a nation's spirit is kept alive and fresh. Those who think literature a mere luxury to be cut down with as little compunction as petrol are exceedingly ill-advised. They can have very little idea as to what precisely it is we are fighting to preserve. The nation which is starved in mind and fancy is as little likely to survive the searching test of war as the nation which is starved for bread and cheese."

Libraries are the keepers of the forces which more than any other can effectively fight against and resist the intellectual enslavement which may be described as the roots from which the present world conflagration has sprung. The fruits of the world's thought upon our shelves are a never-failing store of weapons calculated to help the public to assert that freedom to think, to choose, and to believe for themselves if militarism is to be prevented from becoming the pattern to which the whole world is made. Another direction in which the libraries of the country can help at this time is to provide avenues of escape from too much thinking about the war.

Fortunately, the governors have had no illusions of the kind referred to ; they have realized their responsibility, not only to "carry on," but also to open out, wherever possible, new avenues of service, and with most encouraging results. The number of readers in the library not only has shown no decline, but has actually shown an increase, with this difference from former years that there have been fewer male readers, for obvious reasons, whilst the lady readers have increased to such an extent, that at times the seating capacity of the library has been taxed to the point of congestion, and the need for increased accommodation, to which we look forward, is once more emphasized.

By the approaching completion of the new building which should be ready for occupation towards the end of the present year, or at the commencement of 1917, not only will the congestion in this respect be relieved, but the sorely needed additional accommodation for book storage will be available, to the relief of the overcrowded bookshelves.

At the meeting of the Council held in December, 1914, the Governors resolved to give some practical expression to their deep feelings of sympathy with the authorities of the University of Louvain, in the irreparable loss which they had suffered through the destruction of the University buildings and the famous library. It was further decided that this expression of sympathy should take the form of a gift of books, to comprise a set of the publications of the library, together with a selection from the stock of duplicates, which have gradually accumulated in the library, through the purchase *en bloc* from time to time of large and special collections.

THE
RECON-
STRUCTON
OF THE
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY.

A list of upwards of two hundred volumes was drawn up to

accompany the offer, when it was made to the Louvain authorities through the medium of Professor Dr. A. Carnoy, at that time resident in Cambridge, who, in gratefully accepting the gift, stated that "this was one of the very first acts which tend to the preparation of our revival".

Since the University was, as it remains for the present, dismembered and without a home, we gladly undertook to house the volumes, which thus formed the nucleus of the new library, until such time as the new buildings should be ready to receive them. At the same time it was felt that there must be many other libraries, and similar institutions, as well as private individuals, who would welcome an opportunity of sharing in this expression of practical sympathy. An appeal, therefore, was made in the pages of the "*BULLETIN*," which met with an immediate and encouraging response from all classes of the community, not only in this country, but in many parts of the world, thanks to the valuable assistance rendered by the Press, in giving to our appeal a publicity it would have been impossible to secure in any other way.

Already upwards of 6000 volumes have been either actually received or definitely promised, and each day brings with it fresh offers of assistance. We feel encouraged, therefore, to entertain the hope that the new library, which is already rising phoenix-like from the ashes of the old one, will be richer and more glorious than its predecessor, and we are anxious that the agencies through which this is to be accomplished should be as widely representative as possible.

A careful register of the names and addresses of the donors of the various works, with an exact record of their gifts, has been instituted for presentation with the library. This will serve as a permanent record of the widespread desire to give tangible proof to the people of Belgium of the sympathy so widely felt with them in the calamities that have befallen them, and also of the high and affectionate regard which their heroic sacrifices have inspired.

This is an excellent beginning of the new library, yet, when it is realized that the collection of books so insensately destroyed at Louvain numbered nearly a quarter of a million of volumes, it will be evident that very much more remains to be done if the work of replacement is to be completely successful.

It is with the utmost confidence that we renew our appeal for help, and in doing so we desire to ask those of our readers who may be

desirous of participating in our scheme, to be good enough, in the first instance, to forward to the Librarian of the John Rylands Library a list of the works which they propose to present, so that the register may be examined with the object of obviating a needless duplication of gifts.

We have been compelled through considerations of space to hold over the record of contributions received since December last, but we shall furnish the particulars in our next issue.

Since our appeal was issued, a committee has been formed, under the leadership of Viscount Bryce, as President of the British Academy, to co-operate with the Institut de France in the formation of an International Committee with the ultimate aim of the restoration of the University of Louvain and its library. Invitations were issued to the learned societies and principal libraries throughout the country to appoint delegates to assist in the realization of this aim, and Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., with the Librarian were appointed to represent this library. The inaugural meeting was held at Burlington House in December last, when steps were taken to form a small executive committee to consider ways and means. This executive committee has since been formed, with Lord Muir Mackenzie as Chairman, to work in connection with the French Committee, and is now considering the best way of organizing the movement effectively.

The efforts which have been employed throughout the year to develop the resources of the library along lines which hitherto have been productive of such excellent results, and at the same time to reduce the number of lacunæ upon its shelves, have again met with most gratifying success. In this respect the officials have to acknowledge the valuable assistance which they have received from readers, who in the course of their investigations have been able to call attention to the library's lack of very important authorities. In most cases these deficiencies have been promptly supplied, whilst in the case of works of rarity, which are not so readily procurable, steps have been taken to obtain them with the least possible delay. Suggestions of this nature, which tend to the improvement of the library, are not only welcomed, but they are invited, and receive prompt and sympathetic attention.

It may not be out of place again briefly to refer to the help and

INTERNATIONAL
LOUVAIN
COMMITTEE.

GROWTH
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guidance which the officials are constantly called upon to render to readers and students, not only by personal attention in LIBRARY SERVICE. the library itself, but also in response to requests received through the post. Such service cannot be reduced to any reliable statistical statement, but they bear fruit in the grateful acknowledgments of indebtedness to the library, which constantly find expression in the footnotes and prefaces of published works.

Notwithstanding the absence of the six members of the staff who have joined His Majesty's Forces, the service of the library has been maintained at its regular level of efficiency, thanks to the loyal co-operation of the remaining members, who from various causes are ineligible for military service.

The additions to the library by purchase and by gift since the presentation of the last report number 3060 volumes, of THE YEAR'S ACCES- which 2670 were acquired by purchase, and 390 by SIONS. gift.

The acquisitions by purchase contain fewer works of current publication than usual, by reason of the fact that there has been something like a pause in authorship since the war began, except in war books. Many prominent scholars have exchanged the peaceful pursuit of literature for the service of the King, and in several cases have already given the last pledge of loyalty to their country. We have therefore been able to pay greater attention to the acquisition of some of the older works, in which the library is still deficient.

The printed books include many rare and interesting items, amongst which are the following : The rare original editions of three of Sir William Alexander's works : "Doomes-day," 1614, "Paraenesis to the Prince," 1604, and "Aurora," 1604 ; Mexia's "The Forests or collection of Histories," 1571 : Joshua Silvestre's "Lachrymae lachrymarum," 1613 ; Richard Brathwaite's "Whimsies," 1631 ; the earliest publication of King Edward VI's reign towards the reformation of ecclesiastical affairs : "Injunctions given by . . . Edward VI. . ." 1547 ; Henry Jacob's "Defence of the Churches of England," 1599 ; Increase Mather's ". . . Trials of New England Witches . . ." 1693 ; a collection of tracts and broadsides relating to the Popish Plot, 1679-1681 ; "Breviarium Carmelitanum," 1480 ; the original edition of Florio's translation of the "Essays of Montaigne," 1603 ; the original edition of John Harington's translation of "Orlando

"Furioso" of Ariosto, 1591; John Florio's "Second Fruites . . . and Gardine of Recreation," 1591; also a large selection of important works upon the history of British India, made with the help of Professor Ramsay Muir; a collection of books on Eastern archæology, including an important group of works on the history of Ceylon, from the library of Professor Rhys Davids, etc.

The manuscripts include: "The original record of the Royal receipts and expenses in Ireland for the year of 20 James I," 1622, in 4 vols.; a collection of eighty volumes of records, of which the outstanding item is a volume of the fifteenth century "Cartulary of Fountains Abbey," which was lost sight of for a very long time, and was unknown to Dugdale, Dodsworth, and the later editors of the "Monasticon Anglicanum," the volume is in a perfect state of preservation, and retains its interesting fifteenth century stamped binding; the other volumes in the collection consist for the most part of seventeenth century transcripts of State Papers, but include some original documents, which may prove to be of considerable historical importance, including an "Ancient Rent Roll of Oswestry," "Book of Offices under the Crown," "Statutes of Savoy Hospital," etc. A collection of eighty Pali manuscripts on palm leaf, metallic lacquer, or paper, including a number of very rare and unpublished texts, together with a small group of unknown works from the Bali Island beyond Java, in Bali character, from the library of Professor Rhys Davids. A large collection of memoranda, reports, and letters relating to the East India Company, mostly covering the middle of the nineteenth century, with a quantity of material dealing with the earlier history of the Company. The collection seems to have been made by John Charles Mason (1796-1881) who held the office of Marine Secretary of the Indian Government, and was for many years employed at the East India House, upon confidential duties under the Committee of Secrecy. A number of "Court Rolls" of the time of Queen Elizabeth, and a "Legal Commonplace Book" of a Preston solicitor, also of the reign of Queen Elizabeth.

These are but a few of the works, taken almost at random, but they suffice to furnish some idea of the importance of the accessions which are constantly being obtained.

In the following list of donors, we have fresh proof of the sustained practical interest in the library, and we take this opportunity of renewing the thanks, already expressed in

GIFTS TO
THE LIBRARY.

another form, for their generous gifts, at the same time assuring them that these expressions of interest and goodwill are a most welcome source of encouragement to the governors.

Miss E. M. Barlow.	Dr. Wickham Legg.
The Right Hon. Earl Beauchamp, K.G.	The Rev. E. Le Mare.
R. Benson, Esq.	H. C. Levis, Esq.
J. H. Benton, Esq.	The Librarian.
W. K. Bixby, Esq.	Monsieur J. B. Martin.
The Rev. D. P. Buckle.	The Rev. R. M. Martin, O.P.
Dr. Isak Collijn.	F. R. Marvin, Esq.
G. G. Coulton, Esq.	Rai Biraj Narain.
F. A. Crisp, Esq.	Dr. Axel Nelson.
The Mary Baker Eddy Fund.	Lieut.-Col. J. P. Nicholson.
The Rev. G. Eyre Evans.	Julian Peacock, Esq.
The Rev. H. A. Folkard.	A. Philip, Esq.
Sir H. G. Fordham.	Mrs. Reeves, per the Rev. J. B. McGovern.
The Rev. Canon J. T. Fowler.	Monsieur Seymour de Ricci.
S. Gaselee, Esq.	Prince Paul Z. Riedelski.
R. Griffin, Esq.	H. Laing Roth, Esq.
The Rev. Professor J. Gwynn.	Visconde de Sautarem.
J. J. Hess, Esq.	C. L. H. Smith, Esq.
C. H. St. John Hornby, Esq.	O. S. Straus, Esq.
Charles Hughes, Esq.	A. Swann, Esq.
Sydney Humphries, Esq.	Mrs. M. A. Tanner.
W. H. A. Jacobson, Esq.	G. Thomas, Esq.
R. Jaeschke, Esq.	Dr. Paget Toynbee.
C. Janet, Esq.	J. Urquhart, Esq.
The Executors of the late Thomas Kay, Esq.	Mrs. Watson.
T. W. Koch, Esq.	J. H. Watson, Esq.
Monsieur Paul Lacombe.	The Rev. Dr. W. T. Whitley.
Wm. Lees, Esq.	O. U. Wahl, Esq.
British and Foreign Bible Society.	
Cairo. The Khedivial Library.	
Cambridge. Magdalene College.	
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.	

THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY

Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.
Chicago University Library.
Chicago. John Crerar Library.
Copenhagen. Det Store Kongelige Bibliothek.
Cornell University Library.
Durham University Library.
Groningen. Rijks-Universiteitbibliotheek.
Habana. Biblioteca Nacional.
Humanitarian League.
International Institute of Agriculture, U.S.A.
Jamaica. Institute of Jamaica, Kingston.
Japanese Government Railways.
London. British Museum.
London. Middle Temple Library.
Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society.
Manchester Museum.
Manchester University Press.
Manchester. Victoria University.
Saint Andrews University Library.
South Australia Public Library.
Stubbs' Publishing Co.
Testimony Publishing Co.
Toronto. Provincial Museum.
Utrecht. Rijks Universiteitsbibliotheek.
Washington. Congressional Library.
Washington. Surgeon-General's Office Library.
Washington University Library, St. Louis, Mo.
Worcester, Mass. Clark University Library.
Yale University Library.

Interest in the public lectures, which have come to be regarded as one of the established institutions of Manchester, has continued unabated throughout the year, in spite of the war. Eight evening and two afternoon lectures have been arranged, thanks to the help so ungrudgingly given, by such scholars as Dr. Rendel Harris, Principal Burrows, Professors Herford, Ramsay Muir, Richard Moulton, Peake, Tout, Elliot Smith, and Mr. Walter Poel. On each occasion the lecture-room has been well filled with a most appreciative audience.

LECTURES
AND DE-
MONSTRA-
TIONS.

A number of special lectures and demonstrations to teachers, students, Sunday School workers, and craftsmen, have also been given during the year, with a view to assist them in obtaining a better knowledge of the contents of the library, and how it can serve them in their respective studies and work.

In connection with the Tercentenary of the Death of Shakespeare, which is to be commemorated in the week following Sunday, the 23rd of April, arrangements have been made for the delivery of three lectures ; one by Mr. William Poel on "The Globe Play-house," and two by Professor Richard G. Moulton, on "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist," and "Shakespeare as a Dramatic Thinker".

TERCEN-
TENARY OF
SHAKE-
SPEARE'S
DEATH.

It is also the intention to arrange for the occasion a special exhibition illustrating the work of Shakespeare and his contemporaries, and to issue one of our usual illustrated handbooks, with a view to reveal, not only to students, but also to the general public, the wealth of material which is available to them in the library for the study of Shakespearian literature.

We congratulate Dr. C. E. Vaughan, one of the Governors of the Library, upon the laborious piece of work which he has just brought to fruition, in the publication of "The Political Writings of Jean Jacques Rousseau," in two octavo volumes, by the Cambridge University Press. This is the first time that the political writings of Rousseau have been brought together in this way. In establishing a correct text, furnished with due critical apparatus, and enriched by introductions which put the reader in the way of attaining a fair view of Rousseau's position in the history of political thought, Dr. Vaughan has rendered a service to scholarship, the value and importance of which it is impossible to overestimate. The publication is timely, for the influence of Rousseau is almost unparalleled, and is always with us. The part which he played in shaping the French Revolution is generally recognized, but it is doubtful whether his influence upon the present war of nations and ideas is understood. This point Dr. Vaughan makes clear. Fichte was the disciple of Kant, and Kant of Rousseau. We are told that Fichte's works, embodying his theory of the absolute state, are "manifestly the arsenal from which the later prophets of German nationalism . . . have drawn their heaviest artillery".

DR. VAUGHAN'S
EDITION OF
ROUSSEAU.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CULT OF APOLLO.¹

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, M.A., D.LITT., LL.D., D.THEOL., ETC.,
HON. FELLOW OF CLARE COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

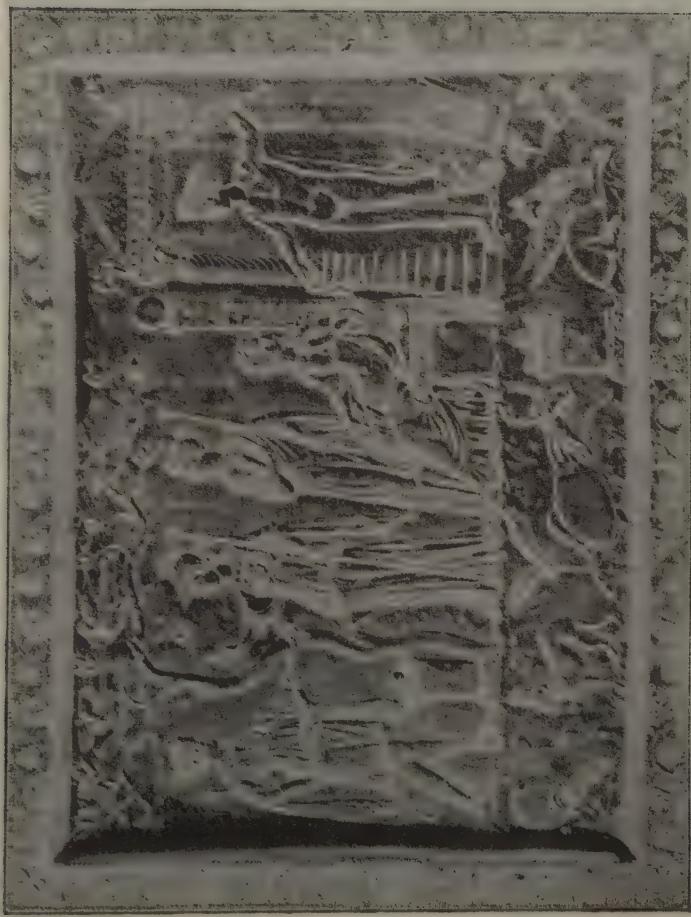
IN a recent study of the origin of the Cult of Dionysos,² I attempted to show that the solution of this perplexing question (one of the most perplexing of all the riddles of the Greek Mythology) was to be found in the identification of Dionysos with the Ivy, and in the recognition that the identification with the Vine is a later development, a supersession of an early and less rational cult, if, indeed, we can call that a supersession which does not wholly supersede ; for, as is well known, the Ivy and the Vine go on their religious way together, are seen in the same processions, climb over the same traditional buildings, and wreath the same imperial and sacerdotal brows. In some ways the Ivy seems to have a more tenacious hold upon human regard and custom than the Vine : it behaves in religion as it does in nature, clinging more closely to its support in wall and tree than ever Vine can do, and giving a symbolic indication both by rootlet and tendril that wherever it comes, it has come to stay. It appears as the tattooed totem-mark upon the worshipper's bodies, the sign of an ownership which religion has affirmed and which time cannot disallow.

Now this view that the Ivy is the fundamental and primitive cult-symbol in the worship of Dionysos was not altogether new : as I pointed out, it had been very clearly stated by Perdrizet in his *Cultes et Mythes de Pangée* : it had also been suggested by S. Reinach (from whom, I suppose, Perdrizet derived it) as the following passage will show : I had not noticed it when writing my paper :—

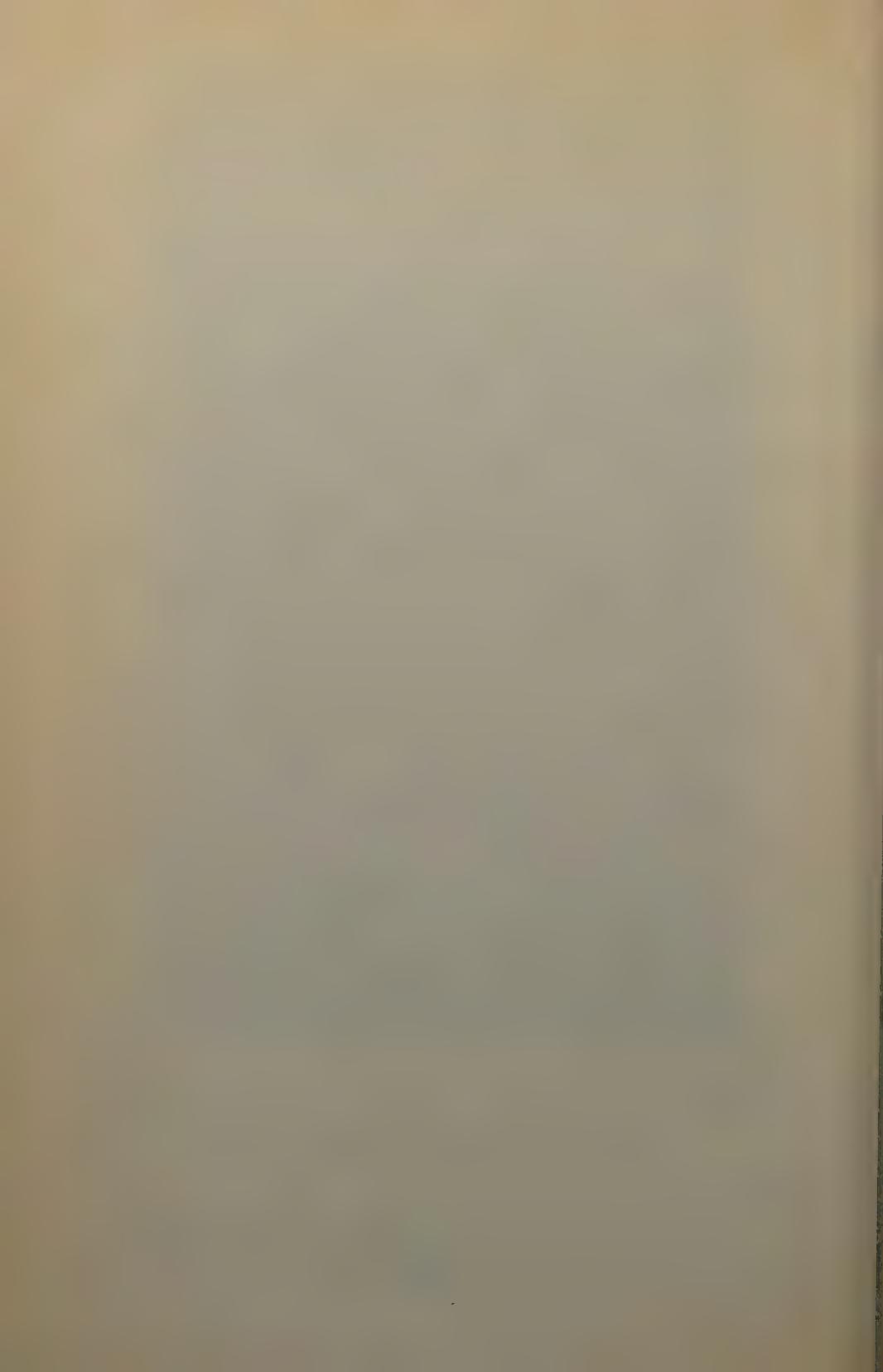
“ Le lierre, comme le taureau, le chevreau, le faon, est une

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, 12 Oct., 1915.

² Bulletin of the John Rylands Library. April, 1915.



SILVER DISH FROM CHAMPAIGN, ILLINOIS



forme primitive de Dionysos, dont il est resté l'attribut ; les Ménades déchirent et machent le lierre comme un animal sacré, victime de *σπαραγμὸς* ou de *νεβρισμός* ; et Plutarque sait, sans le dire formellement (car il n'est pas homme à révéler les mystères) que l'effet de cette manducation du lierre est de rendre les Ménades *ἐνθεοῖ*, de faire passer en elles la divinité" (*Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, ii. 105).

This agrees very nearly with my own statement as to the meaning of the chewing of the Ivy by the Maenads : but if the identification of the Ivy as a primitive form of Dionysos is not new (I should say, of the Ivy as *the* primitive form), the reason for the identification is altogether new. As I pointed out, Perdrizet (and, I may add, S. Reinach) see the Ivy off the oak : when we see it on the oak, the whole process of the evolution of the cult becomes intelligible : the Ivy is sacred because it partakes of the sanctity of the oak ; both of them are sacred because they are animistically repositories of the thunder. A collateral proof of this may be found amongst the Lithuanian peoples : as Grimm points out, "the Lettons have named it (the ground-ivy) *pehrkones* from their god *Perhkun*". This is the Thunder-god *Perkun*. The importance of this consideration is very great : in the nature of the case, there can be no intermediate link between the Ivy and the Oak : the Ivy is the last link ; whatever other creeping or climbing plants (Vine, Smilax, Clematis) may develop Dionysiac sanctity, they can only do so in a derivative and secondary manner : if the Cult of Dionysos is to be explained, it must be from the conjunction of Thunder, Oak, and Ivy as a starting-point. I am now proposing to discuss the origin of the Cult of Apollo, using the results already attained as a guide ; for, as I shall presently show, there is much that is common in the manner of genesis of the two cults in question, and the solution of one will help us to the solution of the other.

Before, however, we proceed to the investigation of the Apolline cult, it will be proper to make a few remarks on the Dionysos cult, as it is expounded in a volume which has appeared since my paper was written. I am referring to Miss Gladys M. N. Davis' work on the *Asiatic Dionysos*. The object of this laborious and learned work, in which the writer shows as great familiarity with Sanskrit literature as with Greek, is to show that the Greek Dionysos is not really Greek

at all, but of Asiatic origin. Asiatic in Miss Davis' book means many things : it may mean the Ionic School in literature, it may mean the Phrygian School in religion, but the final meaning, with regard to which the other two are alternative and secondary, is that Dionysos is an Indo-Iranian product ; to understand it we must go to the Avesta and the Rig-Veda. The perplexing titles which Dionysos bears will all become clear from Sanskrit philology or Medo-Persian geography. The central point of the theory is that Dionysos is the Soma, the divine and divinising drink of our Aryan ancestors, which appears in Old Persian under the name of Haoma, and which when theomorphised is one of the greatest of the gods in the Indian Pantheon.

The identification is not new : Miss Davis uses freely Langlois' *Mémoire sur la divinité Védique appelée Soma*,¹ and points out that Langlois was accepted in his identification by Maury in his *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce*.² She might also have referred to Kerbaker, *Il Bacco Indiano*,³ which would have had the advantage of supplying a more modern student of the theory than those writers who belong to a time when everything ancient was Indian, and when Sanskrit was the last word in philology.

In any case, there was *prima facie* ground for re-opening the question of the Oriental origin of Dionysos ; for it must be admitted that we cannot completely explain the legendary exploits of Dionysos in India as religious creations whose motive is to be found in the campaigns of Alexander ; the opening verses of the Bacchae of Euripides are sufficient to suggest that Dionysos had some links with Persia and with Bactria at a much earlier date ; and whatever may be our story of the evolution of the cult, it will not be complete unless these pre-Alexandrine as well as the post-Alexandrine elements of Asiatic influence are taken into account. According to Miss Davis the Greeks were Medizing before the Persian war, not only in commerce but in literature and religion. The proof of this Medism is the dithyrambic movement in poetry (closely associated with the Dionysian revels on the one hand, and with the Ionic School of poetry on the other), and the Bacchic movement in religion. At

¹ *Acad. des Inscript. et Belles-Lettres*, vol. xix. Paris, 1853.

² Paris, 1857.

³ *Mem. R. Acad. di Arch. Lett. e Belle Arti*. Napoli, 1905.

first sight, each of these supposed influences seems to be unlikely ; I am not expert in dithyrambic poetry and its extravagances, but it seems to be in the highest degree improbable that the Greeks, at the time when their literature was nearing its full-bloom, should have shown so little originality as to copy wholesale from the Persians the dithyrambic method, and that the Vedic poets are the proof that the dithyrambic method was there to copy : and I am sure that the major part of Miss Davis' parallels are unreal and her conclusions illusory. As, however, I am not really in a position to discuss the dithyrambic movement in Greek poetry, perhaps I have said more by way of criticism than I am entitled to say. So I pass on to make one or two remarks on the proposed identification of Dionysos with the Soma.

In the first place, then, it follows from the proposed identification of Dionysos with Soma that Soma is the Ivy, or a primitive surrogate for the Ivy. In the next place, it may be granted that if the Proto-Aryans drank a beverage compounded from Soma-Ivy, the proceeding is one which belongs to the elementary strata of Aryan belief (it might even be pre-Aryan), and has nothing whatever to do with any possible loans contracted by the Greeks in the Persian period, which go under the comprehensive name of Medism.

As far as I am concerned there is no need to deny Persian influences in religion. To take a single instance, we know from Aristophanes that the Cock was a Persian importation, and that he actually bore the title Περσικός. It is, however, equally clear that the Cock had a religious value in Persia, and was, in fact, the Persian Thunderbird ; and it is in the character of the Thunder-bird that he takes his place in Sparta (displacing, no doubt, an original Woodpecker) and becomes the cult-bird of the Heavenly Twins, just as he was in Persia. So a religious symbol can be transplanted. That is not quite the same thing as transplanting a religion. If a religion appears to be transplanted, it will probably be found upon closer scrutiny, that it was in existence already.

Is there, then, any probability that an equation can be made between the Soma-plant and the Ivy ? An equation, I say, not a transfer : in the case of such primitive matter, that supposition is unnecessary. Botanically, we cannot identify, for the Soma plant is still an unknown quantity. It was a mountain plant, and it was a

creeping plant with long tendrils, and it grows on the rocks, and is also, apparently, a tree-climber ; its juice is yellow, and has intoxicating value, either naturally or when subject to fermentation. This intoxicating quality makes it the drink of the gods and the medicine of immortality. Probably it is this intoxicating quality which causes it to be spoken of in terms borrowed from *mead* and the honey out of which it is made.

Now it is clear that thus far there is nothing to forbid an identification, or a quasi-identification of Soma with the Ivy : it might be the Ivy, or a first substitute for it.¹

In the next place, there is a parallelism between the two cult-creepers, in that each of them is closely related to the Thunder-god and the Storm-gods. In the case of Bacchus, there was a tendency on the part of students to ignore this connection, although one would have supposed that the relation of Dionysos to Zeus and Semele, and the emphasis which the legend lays on his birth in a thunderstorm, would have been sufficient to establish it, to say nothing of the thunderous elements which turn up in the language of the Bacchae. Now that we see the Ivy on the Oak, we need not have any hesitation in connecting Dionysos with the Thunder. In the case of the Soma the same thing is true ; Soma is especially connected with the thundering Indra, and is actually said, in one case, to be the son of the Storm-god Parjanya.

The mention of this latter god raises an interesting problem : for Parjanya is commonly held to be the equivalent of the Lithuanian (and Slavonic) Oak-and-Thunder god Perkun ; now we have already in our essay connected Dionysos with Perkun, through the title *Perikionios* which the Greeks gave him, a title which we suggested was a mere misunderstanding of a primitive Perkunios. We should thus have made connection between Dionysos and the Soma, through the common element of a primitive thunder-cult. If this can be maintained, it will be a result as illuminating as it is interesting.

The chief objection to it comes from the standpoint of the comparative philologist. In Hastings' *Encyclop. for Religion and*

¹ I have taken the yellow colour of Soma to be the colour of its juice : it should, however, be noted that some varieties of ivy have yellow berries : cf. Theokr. *id.* i. 31, *καρπῷ . . . κροκοέντι*, and Plin. H.N. 16, 147, *semen . . . crocatum*.

Ethics, under the article *Aryans* (a splendid summary of our present knowledge of our ancestors), Schrader objects to the identification of Parjanyas with Perkun, on the ground that the Sanskrit *j* cannot be equated with the Lettish *k*. It is possible, however, that the objection is wrongly taken, and is still too much under the influence of the belief that everything Sanskrit is primitive. The Norse equivalent of Perkun appears to be Fjörgynn ; and this suggests a form Parganyas behind the extant Sanskrit deity. After all, the equation between the two Storm-gods (accepted by Usener and others in modern times¹) may be defensible.

We must be prepared, on the other hand, for an adverse verdict on the point before us from the experts in comparative philology : so that it will be wise not to build too hastily on the equation between *Perkun* and *Parjanyas*.

A further caution must be emphasised in regard to the assumed derivation of *Perikionios* as a title of Dionysos from *Perkun* or *Perkunios*. The identification has met with a good degree of approbation. *Perikionios* had, in any case, an uncanny and artificial appearance. There are, however, those who express hesitation or reserve. For example, Mr. A. B. Cook doubts whether the title *Perikionios* was used by anybody who had come into contact with *Perkun-worshippers*, and thinks that *Perikionios* is quite explicable on its own merits without being regarded as a mere misunderstanding of a primitive *Perkunios*.

This may be so, but on the other hand Mr. Cook admits that in *Zeus* (i. 241, n. 15) he had been tempted to make a similar equation of Greek *Pikoloos* with the Lithuanian *Pikulas*. This last is a very interesting case on account of the suspicion which at once comes to one's mind that we are dealing with some survival of the ancestral Woodpecker. In the case of the Greek name, *πῖκος* stands out clearly enough : the Lithuanian name has never, as far as I know,

¹ Usener, *Götternamen*, 97, says of Perkun : "Die bedeutende gottergestalt ist uralt : ind. *Parjanyas* : alt-nord *Fjörgynn*, slav. *Perun*". See J. Grimm, *Klein. Schr.* 2, 414 ff. Bühler in Benfey's *Orient u. Occ.* i. 214. Zimmer, *Ztsch. f. d. alt.* 19, 164 ff. We may also compare Oldenberg, *Veda*, p. 226 n. : "Der Name (*Parjanyas*) bekanntlich aus indog. Zeit. vgl. den litauischen *Perkunas*, den nordischen Gott und Göttin *Fjörgyn*. Nach Hirt : *Idg. Forschungen*, i. 481, wäre die Bedeutung 'Eichengott'."

been explained. When the Christian religion affected Lithuanian beliefs, it seems to be pretty clear that Pikulas became the name for the devil. For the bird-ancestry of the devil (as a dispossessed thunder-bird) there is not a little evidence ; the so-called cloven hoof is probably a bird's foot : so there is no impossibility in finding the Woodpecker in Pikulas, but the matter needs closer examination before we can speak definitely.

Now let us take some further objections, and after we have stated them briefly we shall be able to go on to the problems of the Cult of Apollon.

There seems to be no adequate evidence that Soma is a fire-stick. It is inherent in our theory of the sanctity of the Ivy as derived from the thunder and the oak, that the Ivy is a primitive fire-stick : we know, in fact, that this is actually the case. The first fire-sticks amongst the Greeks are made of Ivy, Oak, Laurel, etc. Apparently the Ivy holds the place of honour, which is just what we should not have expected, apart from its link with the thunder and lightning. If we were starting out to make fire by friction, ivy-wood is about the last thing which we should have dreamt of using. Its use is a sufficient proof that there was an occult reason for its use.

Now let us turn to Soma. There is the same traditional production of fire, carried on religiously, among the Indians even to our own day ; but no sign that Soma was a wood capable of becoming a fire-stick. The fig-tree has a prominent place in this regard, as it seems to have a subdued place in Dionysian cults, but there is no sign of Soma-wood. The objection is a strong one. There is, however, something to be said on the other side. In Indian myth, Soma is not only the companion of Indra, the thunder, and of Parjanya, the rain-storm ; it has also a close connection with Agni, the fire. It is possible, then, that the Vedic Soma is not the first form of the stimulant, but a later and more potent one, which has displaced the first cult-symbol, something in the same way as, let us say, the Vine becomes more effective than the Ivy. Or, in Vedic times, the primitive fire-stick might have disappeared.

There are other objections arising from the want of agreement in the cult-use of the plants in question. We know that the Ivy is chewed by the Maenads, and that is about all that we do know : in the case of Soma we know minutely its preparation ; that it is crushed

between two stones, compared to thunder-bolts, and so perhaps the stones are actual celts supplying one more thunder element to the ritual ; that the yellow juice is mixed with flour, etc., fermented and strained through a strainer of sheep's wool : but there is not a suggestion that Soma is chewed, nor a hint that Ivy is pulped and decocted and strained. Thus we seem to be in two different cult regions, and are tempted to conclude that Soma cannot be either the Ivy or Dionysos. Is there any way of avoiding this conclusion ? Let us study for awhile an analogous sacred drink, the Kava of the Polynesian and Melanesian. Kava is the root of a pepper tree, the *Piper Methysticum*, out of which they make in the South Seas a mild intoxicant with a soapy taste. The method of its preparation varies somewhat in different islands. The root is chewed by a chief who, when he has macerated a portion, squeezes the juice of the portion which he has chewed into a bowl, where it is mixed with water, strained through cocoa-fibre, and then drunk out of small cocoa-shells which are filled with great ceremony to the men of the company out of the large Kava-bowl. In some of the more civilised islands (Samoa, for instance) the Kava is not chewed ; it is grated ; a rough grater is made in Samoa by driving some nails into a piece of tin ; the grated root is then mixed with water and strained ; in Samoa the preparation is made by the hands of the prettiest girl in the village, who mixes the drink and strains it with great deliberation and care. She is the priestess of the occasion ; but if you were to tell the natives in one of the less civilised islands that you had seen a woman making Kava, they would be consumed with laughter.¹

Here we have a case analogous in some respects to the brewing of Soma : and it suggests that in the pre-Vedic history of Soma, the plant was chewed and not pounded ; we easily attach too much antiquity to things Vedic. Suppose we conjecture that the Soma was chewed by the Brahmans, and so made potable : we should then have restored parallelism with the action of the Maenads with the Ivy. Yes ! it will be said, but you must also have an ivy-drink prepared. Your Maenads must be as elementary in their dietetic prologues as the South Sea islanders. Who shall say they were not ? The whole process is a sacrament, and they might have just as religiously prepared a drink-god as chewed a leaf-god. So let us say

¹ See Rivers, *Hist. Melanesian Society*, i. 82.

that if hypothesis be allowed free play, it is not impossible that Soma might be that ivy, with a somewhat more highly evolved method of preparation.

It is interesting to be able to point out that we have, even in England, suspicious traces of the survival of an ivy-drink. Professor Lake reminds me that in Lincoln College, Oxford, they drink Ivy-beer on Ascension day ; i.e. beer in which ivy-leaves have been steeped overnight. Mr. Lake says that "it always seemed to me to be a very unpleasant drink". In Gerard's *Herball*, p. 707, we find further traces of the same custom :—

"The women of our northern parts, especially about Wales and Cheshire do tun¹ the herb ale-hooe into their Ale, but the reason thereof I know not; notwithstanding without all controversie, it is most singular against the grieves aforesaid; being tunned up in Ale and drunke, it also purgeth the head from rheumaticke humours flowing from the braine." *Alehoofe* is a popular name given to the ground-ivy and is commonly taken to be a corruption of the Dutch *ei-loof* or *ivy-leaf*. If so it is a modification induced by the fact that the ivy is drunk in ale. It is interesting to observe that the ivy has medical value, according to old Gerard. That point should be carefully noted. There is not a trace of it in the Oxford custom, which is attached to the beating of the bounds in two Oxford parishes.²

¹ For the use of this word, nearly in our times (I believe it is still in use in Lancashire), we may take White, *Selborne* (*Garden Kalendar* for 1768) : "Tunned the raisin-wine and put to it 10 bottles of elder syrup," etc.

² The following is the account of the Ivy-ale given in Clark's *History of Lincoln College*, p. 209 : "On Ascension day, the parishioners of St. Michael's, and, till recently, the parishioners of All Saints', beat their bounds. To enable this to be done, since the line of the boundary passes in at Brasenose gate and out of Lincoln gate, a dark obscure passage, left for the purpose through Brasenose buildings into Lincoln, is opened for that morning. By old custom, a lunch is provided for the parishioners who have attended the vestry. Formerly St. Michael's lunch was set in the buttery as being in that parish, All Saints' in the Hall, as in their own ground. For this lunch a tankard of ground-ivy ale is prepared—i.e. of ale in which ground-ivy has been steeped overnight. If the manciple has been too generous in his allowance of the herb, the flavour is too marked for modern taste. The origin of this 'cup' I have never seen explained. I have heard a religious origin conjectured for it, that it was emblematic of the 'wine mingled with gall'."

In drawing attention to the use of ivy-ale in the beating of bounds at Oxford, we must not forget that the beating of bounds is a very early and very religious act. It is recognised as being closely related to the Roman ceremony of the Ambarvalia, when on the 29th day of May the farms and fields undergo lustration with processions and prayers.

"Of all the Roman Festivals," says Warde Fowler, "this is the only one which can be said with any truth to be still surviving. When the Italian priest leads his flocks round the fields with the ritual of the Litania major in Rogation week he is doing very much what the Fratres Arvales did in the infancy of Rome, and with the same object. In other countries, England among them, the same custom was taken up by the Church, which rightly appreciated its utility, both spiritual and material ; the bounds of the parish were fixed in the memory of the young, and the wrath of God was averted by an act of duty from man, cattle, and crops." (!)

In view of the antiquity and wide diffusion of these customs, practised for the purification of a community and the averting of evil therefrom, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the drinking of ivy is itself a part of the religious ceremony and has preservative value. And this means that it must make for itself a place in the *materia medica*, which owes so much in its earlier stages to the knowledge of the magical virtue of plants and animals.

We are able to show that this drinking of ivy steeped in ale or steeped in wine has a very definite place in early medicine ; so that we need not any longer think of it as surviving only in the customs of an Oxford college. We have already shown the use of ground-ivy in ale from Gerard's *Herball* (A.D. 1597) ; the same *Herball* will tell us that (p. 708) "the leaves of Ivie, fresh and greene, boiled in wine, do heale olde ulcers, and perfectly cure those that have a venemous and malitious quality joined with them ; and are a remedie against burnings and scaldings. Moreover the leaves boiled with vinegar are good for such as have bad spleenes ; but the flowers and fruit are of more force, being very finely beaten and tempered with vinegar, especially so used they are commended against burnings."

There is more to the same effect, borrowed apparently from Dioscorides, perhaps through the medium of Dodonaeus, who in his *Stirpium Historiae* writes as follows :—

"Hedera . . . viridis autem, foliis eius in vina decoctis, ulcera grandia conglutinat, quaeque maligna sunt, ad sanitatem reducit : tum igne factas exulcerationes cicatrice includit. Porro cum aceta cocta folia liensis prosunt. Flores autem validiores sunt, ut ad laevorem redacti cum cerato ambustis convenient."

We have, then, in the Oxford custom a survival of early medicine as well as of early religion. The two are not very far apart in their origins.

Before leaving this point, let me say something about kava itself : for kava also lies at the heart of a problem, the problem of the origin of the Melanesians. Its importance lies in the consideration that all Polynesians and Melanesians drink kava, though they vary somewhat in the manner of its preparation. Then they brought the kava with them at some stage of the migration from Indonesia into Melanesia. In the same way, the Melanesians, as far to the S.E. as the Solomon and Santa Cruz Islands, chew the betel leaf, for the most part as in Southern India and Ceylon, with the accompaniment of lime and arecanuts. Mr. Rivers, who has recently made such a careful study of Melanesian society, has come to the conclusion¹ that "Melanesian culture is complex, having arisen through the settlement of two immigrant peoples, named after their use of kava and betel, among an earlier population possessing the dual system of society" (i.e. society in two exogamous groups, each group only marrying with the other).

Now Rivers suggests the following sequence of migrations : "First, a people possessing the dual organisation of Society ; next, an immigrant people who introduced the use of kava, and were the founders of the secret organisations of Melanesia ; third, a people who introduced the practice of head-hunting and betel-chewing ; and lastly, relatively recent influences, from Polynesia and Micronesia."²

According to Rivers, kava differs from betel in that it is used over a more restricted area of the world than the widely diffused betel (ii. 255) ; its use is "limited to Polynesia and Micronesia, Melanesia, including the Admiralty Islands, and New Guinea, and there can be little doubt that it is within this area that we must look for the origin of the practice".

¹ *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 575.

² *Ibid.* ii. 290.

Rivers then goes on to suggest that kava-chewing may be an early form of betel-chewing, the betel pepper being replaced by the kava pepper, and the change from the leaf to the root being the result of an observation made upon a rat who was seen to chew the root and to behave abnormally in consequence. This tradition was told him by a native of the island of Pentecost and confirmed in another quarter. So we should have, first, betel-leaf chewing followed by kava-root chewing, then as the result of a fresh immigration, more betel-leaf chewing by a later generation, and so Melanesian manners are explained.

There is, however, a difficulty in accepting this order of events. It ignores the fact that kava-drinking is a religious act, associated with the chief events of life, while betel-chewing appears to be nothing of the kind. Mr. Rivers admits that (ii. 146) "the drinking of kava is a prominent feature of the ritual of such occasions as birth, initiation, and death, and on these occasions kava is offered to the dead with the accompaniment of a prayer".

There is another objection to Mr. Rivers' statements : if kava is derivative from betel, the practice of chewing is earlier than the custom of grating the root. Certainly, we should say ; but Mr. Rivers strangely thinks that chewing kava is the more recent custom : (ii. 247) "in the Banks and Torres Islands the root is chewed, but in the New Hebrides, which we have *every reason to regard as a region of more archaic culture*, there is no chewing".

Probably when we know more about the inhabitants of Indonesia and the Malay States, we may find the origin of kava on the mainland, without reference to the betel-pepper at all. At present we do not know the story of the Melanesians sufficiently, before they reached Melanesia. Arguing from language and from the presence of many Aryan roots in the Melanesian vocabulary, Dr. George Brown, who is one of the best skilled of Melanesian missionaries, came to the conclusion that while the people are Turanian, they have been mixed with elements from an Aryan migration : and I believe Dr. Codrington was of the same opinion. Some day we shall know more about the origin of these great migrations, from India and elsewhere into Malaysia and thence to Indonesia, by which the South Seas were peopled, and perhaps we shall also know the origin of

kava-drinking : the discovery will be a chapter in the history of religion.

And now let us come to the origin of the Cult of Apollo. Our reason for discussing this as a pendant to the study of the Cult of Dionysos, lies in the proved mythological consanguinity of the two gods. They exchange characters and titles, they overlap in function. To some extent this overlapping of function characterises the whole Olympic Pantheon : the gods encroach upon one another to such an extent that Lucian represents Zeus as laying down restrictive laws, and insisting that Asklepios shall not meddle with oracles nor Athena with medicine.

But the relation between Dionysos and Apollo is much closer than that which would be expressed by occasional exchange or invasion of one another's functions. Sometimes their very names seem to be alternative, so that it is not easy to tell which deity is involved in a statement. In a line preserved from the Likymnios of Euripides¹ we have an address to

δέσποτα, φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παιὰν Ἀπολλον εὐλυρε.

Here Bacchus is invoked who loves the laurel (Daphne) (which one would have supposed to be an Apolline title), and is equated with the Paian Apollo. A similar transfer of title is found in a fragment of Æschylus,² where Apollo is spoken of as

ὁ κιστεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Βακχεύς, ὁ μαντίς.

Here Apollo has the ivy for his cult symbol, just as in the previous fragment Dionysos had the laurel. Each of these transfers invites the hypothesis that in some sense Dionysos is Apollo.

In the same way Apollo appears on the coins of Alabanda in Caria as Apollo Kίστος, and sometimes the goat of Dionysos is added, or the reverse of the coin bears the ivy-crowned head of



PLATE I.—COIN OF ALABANDA IN CARIA.

¹ *Frapp.* ed.² Nauck, 477.

² Fr. 341. It should, however, be noted that *Βακχεὺς* is Nauck's emendation for *βακτιος* or *καβαιος* in the passage of Macrobius (*Sat.* i. 18, 6), from which this and the preceding fragment are derived. The observed identity of the two gods is due to Macrobius.

Dionysos, if indeed it is Dionysos and not a variant of Apollo. It has also been pointed out that at the festival of the Hyacinthia, ivy-crowns are worn ; but this festival certainly belongs to the cycle of Apollo.

The conjectural equivalence becomes a positive statement in the rhetorician Menandros, who tells us that at Delphi the names Apollo and Dionysos are alternatives :—¹

Μίθραν σε Πέρσαι λέγουσιν, Ὄρον λιγύπτιοι, σὺ γὰρ εἰς κύκλον τὰς ὄρας ἄγεις, Διόνυσον θηβαῖοι, Δελφοὶ δὲ διπλῆ προσηγορίᾳ τιμῶσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Διόνυσον λέγοντες.

We knew from other sources that Delphi was almost like a common sanctuary to the two deities. Plutarch had, in fact, told us that Dionysos was almost as much at home in Delphi as Apollo.² The same identification is suggested for Apollo and Dionysos at Rhodes and elsewhere, with the addition of Helios ; for, according to Dio Chrysostom, it was said *τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἡλιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν*, and this is confirmed by Rhodian coins which show Helios (= Apollo) crowned with ivy and grapes in the Dionysiac manner.

There must, surely, be some underlying reason for these common titles and sanctuary, and for the confusion of the personalities of the deities in question.

Then there is a curious parallelism in the rituals of the two gods, for if the priestess of Apollo chews the laurel for her inspiration, the same thing can be said of the ivy-chewing Maenads, whatever be the meaning of the inspiration sought.

We may refer at this point to a curious case of Bacchic madness, in which the inspired women eat the ivy, the smilax, and the laurel, of which the first two belong to the ritual of Dionysos, and the third to the ritual of Apollo. Antoninus Liberalis records the story of certain maidens who were turned into night-birds. He calls them

¹ Menand. Rhet. ed. Sprengel, iii. 446^b.

² Plut. *De Ei. ap. Delphos*. 9. *τὸν Διόνυσον φέτων Δελφῶν οὐδὲν ἡττον ἢ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι μέτεστιν.*

A good illustration of this may be found in the archaic Greek mirror, figured by Miss Harrison in *Themis*, p. 142, where the two gods stand face to face, with the solar disk between them. Here also we have Apollo, Dionysos, and Helios in conjunction.

Minyades, and says they left their father's house, and as Bacchants on the mountains fed on ivy, smilax, and laurel, until Hermes touched them with his rod and transformed them into birds.

It seems lawful to conclude that the chewing of ivy by the Maenads, and the chewing of laurel by the Pythian priestess are ritual rites of the same significance, and, as was stated above, the intention is the absorption of the god by the worshippers. The cults involved are parallel.

Pursuing the investigation a little further, we come to an important discovery by Mr. A. B. Cook,¹ that the laurel which we are accustomed to regard as so characteristically Apolline, had been substituted for the oak, even at Delphi itself. This time it is Ovid that lets the cat out of the mythological bag. Mr. Cook sums up the matter as follows : "The oldest of the Apolline myths is the story of the god's fight with Python at Delphi. Ovid (*Met.* i. 445 . . .), after telling it, adds that to keep in memory this signal victory the Pythian games were instituted and that 'whoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (aesculeae . . . frondis) ; the laurel as yet was not, and Phoebus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses, from the nearest tree'. It appears, then, that the laurel had been preceded by the oak at Delphi."² After having shown the priority of the Delphic oak to the Delphic laurel, Ovid goes on to tell the story of Daphne. We can read back the myth into its original elements. When we give Apollo oak-sanctity, we begin to understand the meaning of his consanguinity with Dionysos. The laurel, then, is surrogate for the oak. The sun-god is, in some way, connected with the Thunder, and with the Sky, before he becomes the patron and spirit of the orb of day. We can find occasional traces of the thunder in the traditions of Apollo. Some-

¹ *European Sky-God*, i. p. 413.

² Ovid, *Met.* i. 445 *sqq.* :—

"Neve operis famam possit delere vetustas,
Instituit sacros celebri certamine ludos
Pythia perdomitae serpentis nomine dictos.
His iuvenum quicumque manu pedibusve rotave
Vicerat, aesculeae capiebat frondis honorem.
Nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phoebus.
Primus amor Phoebi Daphne Peneia. . . ."

times his arrows are said to be lightnings : thus Pausanias (iii. 1, 6) says that Aristodemus died by a lightning-stroke, whereas Apollodorus (ii. 173) explains his death as due to an arrow of Apollo, and so not by sunstroke, if the two traditions are the same. And that Apollodorus means us to understand that Apollo's arrow is the lightning, appears from another passage (i. 139) where

'Απόλλων . . . τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν.

Mr. A. B. Cook offers a further suggestion of Apollo's connection with the lightning, in the observation that "two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named Bronte and Sterope, thunder and lightning," and remarks acutely that "the Sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god".¹

He also points out a singularly apposite parallel in the Babylonian theology, with its close inter-relation of Shamash (the Sun-god) and Ramman (the Thunder-god) as Shamash-Ramman. "These two conceptions of storm-god and sun-god, which to our way of thinking seem diametrically opposed, are in point of fact by no means incompatible. In many mythologies, says Dr. Jastrow, the sun and the lightning are regarded as correlated forces. At all events, the frequent association of Shamash and Ramman cannot have been accidental."²

These very luminous comments show us the direction in which to look for the solution of our problem. It is the original Sky-god (= oak-god) that has shown the two faces, one bright and one dark. Dionysos stands to Apollo in the ratio of the dark sky to the bright. More exactly, they are both Sky-gods, but Dionysos belongs to the dark sky with traces of the bright sky. With Apollo it is the converse order. Each is a child of Zeus, but Dionysos is on the thunder-side of the house, Apollo on the sunshiny side. But as we have shown, they are not so very far apart ; Apollo does sometimes handle the thunder.³

¹ *Zeus*, i. 337.

² *Ibid.*, i. 578.

³ In replacing the Delphic laurel, as we shall presently do, by a previous cult-oak, we may have to replace the laurel-maiden by an oak-maiden. Is she Dryope? or is Dryope another name for the woodpecker? We are in the oak-area for certain. Probably Dryope is really an oak-maiden, and it is Dryops, her father, that is the woodpecker. Mr. Cook points out that after Dryope had visited the temple of Apollo, she was carried off by the Hamadryads, who caused a poplar to spring up in her place. Note

We can take a further step in the investigation. Each of the two gods is concerned in the production of fire, and their vegetable symbols show that each of them may be described as a fire-stick. We have already explained that the ivy became a fire-stick, because such fire-sticks are naturally made out of wood which has been recognised as containing the sacred fire, the lightning, and which are able under friction to give out again the fire which they have concealed. It is well known that our ancestors made fire by friction of oak-wood. For instance, as Frazer points out,¹ "perpetual fires, kindled with the wood of certain oak-trees, were kept up in honour of Perkunas ; if such a fire went out it was lighted again by friction of the sacred wood". He goes on to observe that "men sacrificed to oak-trees for good crops, while women did the same for lime-trees ; from which we may infer that they regarded oaks as male and lime-trees as female". The sex distinction in firewoods arose by natural analogy, the boring-stick being regarded as male, the other as female. That is, the lime-tree is the female conjugate of the oak in the making of sacred fire. The sex of the stick is not constant ; it is defined by the relative hardness of two kinds of woods : ivy might be male, for example, to laurel ; it might be female to oak.² It is not the case in the first definition that the ivy is male to the oak, because it clasps and rings the oak. As a matter of fact its embrace might be interpreted in quite the opposite sense. Shakespeare makes the ivy feminine in *Midsummer Night's Dream* :—

The female Ivy so
Enrings the barky fingers of the Elm.

(Act IV. sc. i.)

the suggestion of the poplar as a surrogate for the oak. I am inclined to suggest that the original name of Dryops was Dryopikos (the Oak-Picus), which was wrongly taken to be an adjective. We get a similar form in the *Epinal Glossary*, 648 : fina = marsopicus (i.e. Picus Martius).

¹ *Magic Art*, ii. 366.

² The wood of the plane-tree, for instance, is male to the wood of the birch. Thus when the Russian peasants make the *givoy agor* or living fire, the proceeding is described as follows : " Some men hold the ends of a stick made of the plane-tree, very dry and about a fathom long. This stick they hold firmly over one of birch, perfectly dry, and rub with violence, and quickly, against the former ; the birch, which is somewhat softer than the plane, in a short time inflames " (E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*, p. 259).

But these sexual specifications are mere poetic imaginings ; primitive man was occupied with a more practical view of things ; he wanted to find out which woods made fire, and to construct for himself a scale of relative hardness of the sacred woods out of which fire could be made. If he used two pieces of the same wood, one piece was male and the other female. If he used oak and ivy, one kind of wood was male and the other female.

Now recall our observation that the laurel at Delphi was a surrogate for the oak. The natural suggestion is that at Delphi, the laurel as a fire-stick has replaced some earlier wood. It may have been that oak and oak have been replaced by oak and laurel : the laurel will be the softer wood and is female. Now we begin to see daylight on some mythological amours : there is the case of

Dionysos and Caroea (Miss Nutt) :
and Apollo and Daphne (Miss Laurel).

It is the fire-sticks that explain the mythology.

On this showing, Apollo would be some kind of wood : we have nearly shorn him of his sunbeams. We are to look for his origin in the vegetable world, just as we found Dionysos hiding away behind the ivy. In what direction shall we look ? Our first suggestion would be that we should look oak-wards ; for we have come to suspect that the oak, in the worship of Apollo, had anterior sanctity to the laurel. The analogy of the Dionysian cult suggests that we look for one of the parasites of the oak. Now the singular thing about the oak-cult is that the oak contains within itself the differentiation of the cult of the Sky, into bright sky and dark sky, to which we were just now alluding. The ivy is the symbol of the thunder, the mistletoe is the symbol of the sunshine : but even in the mistletoe there are suggestions of thunder and lightning, as, for instance, when Balder is killed by an arrow that is made from a piece of mistletoe. Shall we say, then, that Apollo, who is the bright sky with suggestions of thunder is the mistletoe ? There is something to be said for the solution, though perhaps the real answer is not quite so simple.

Mistletoe in Greek is *iξός* ; and its solar value is attested by the story of Ixion, the mistletoe-man, who goes round and round in Hades on a solar wheel. But Apollo himself is a mistletoe-man.

There was a town in the island of Rhodes called Ἰξίαι, and this town of Ixai, or Mistletoe-town, worshipped Apollo under the title of Ἱξίος Ἀπόλλων, or the Mistletoe-Apollo. The parallel with the Ivy-Dionysos worshipped at Acharnai, is obvious. We shall make the suggestion, then, that Apollo is either the mistletoe, or something connected with mistletoe : only, as in the case of ivy, it should be the mistletoe *on the tree*, deriving its sanctity from the oak, in which the Sky dwells animistically as sunshine or as thunder.

Assuming, then, the connection of Apollo with the mistletoe we have to examine into the distribution of the mistletoe and the trees upon which it appears. We are told by Frazer (G.B. xi.) to distinguish between the *Viscum Album*, which seldom grows on oaks, but most commonly on apple-trees, or poplars, and the *Loranthus Europaeus*, which attacks chiefly oaks. Suppose we find the mistletoe growing freely on some other tree than the oak, say on a poplar or a pine, will it not be a natural conclusion that it has brought with it the sanctity of the oak, of which the parasite has become the carrier ? And if we were right in detecting at Delphi an original Oak-Apollo, will it not follow that we may also expect to come across cases of a Poplar-Apollo, or of an Apollo of the apple-tree ? Whichever kind of mistletoe is the original Golden Bough, it is clear that in England we chiefly know the mistletoe on the apple-tree, while in Brittany one is constantly reminded of its presence on the poplar. So we will make quest of the various forms in which Apollo may appear.

First of all we ask for traces of poplar sanctity and of association of the tree with Apollo. Here again we are indebted to the investigations of Mr. A. B. Cook, who, without making use of the mistletoe as a link, had detected a transfer of the Oak-Apollo to the Poplar-Apollo. He states his case as follows in the *European Sky-god* (p. 419) :—

“ We have seen him as an oak-god. It remains to see him as a poplar-god. A Roman coin of Alexandria Troas shows Apollo Σμυνθεύς standing before a poplar-tree with a tripod in front of him. Another coin of Apollonia Illyria, struck by Caracalla, represents the statue of Apollo inside his temple, behind which appear

the tops of three poplar-trees.¹ Apollo, then, in several of the most primitive cults, was connected with the oak or poplar, the *aīγειρος*, a word which meant ‘oak’ before it meant ‘poplar’.”

(He compares *aesculus* = *aeg-sculus*.)

Finally, Mr. Cook argues that the name Apollo in its primitive form *Apellon*, is to be explained by a gloss of Hesychius that ἀπελλόν· αἴγειρος ὁ ἐστι εἶδος δένδρου, i.e. Apellon, a *poplar*, a kind of tree. We shall return to this derivation later.

We have now shown that there is some reason for the belief in a vegetable-Apollo, connected with the oak, and its surrogates the poplar and the laurel. In the case of the laurel, the connection is probably through the fire-stick, in the case of the poplar through the mistletoe. Next let us ask whether there is any probability that the mistletoe carried its sanctity to the apple-tree. Is that also to be described as a vegetable-Apollo? Shall we look for an apple-Apollo as another form of the mistletoe-Apollo, and comparable with the Ivy Dionysos? From inscriptions found at Epidaurus, we actually recover what looks like an Apollo of the apple-tree in the form Apollo Μαλεάτης (from *μαλέα*, an apple-tree). Usener makes the parallel for us with Dionysos συκεάτης from *συκέα*, and δευδρίτης from *δένδρον*. The word can only mean a god of the apple-tree : that is, it is derived from *μῆλον* (Latin *malum*).² As, however, Maleates is thrown into the Asklepios-cult by its occurrence in Epidaurus, attempt has been made to derive it in a geographical sense, from Malea, supposed to be a centre of Asklepios worship. The name is, however, too widely diffused for this, or similar, location.

It turns up again, without the attached Apollo, in an inscription, τῶι Μαλεάται, from Selinus ;³ and in the temple of Asklepios at Athens sacrifice was made first to Maleates and then to Apollo. Thus the three deities Apollo, Maleates, and Asklepios are again in connection with one another. Usener thinks that the two cults of Apollo and Maleates have been fused ; they are almost united in the

¹ The identification of the numismatic trees is not quite certain.

² It cannot come from *μῆλον* a sheep, for this has no form *μᾶλον* corresponding to it in dialect.

³ The inscription is IGA. 57. Note also the term *Μαλοφόρος* (?) for Demeter) in the temple of Apollo at Selinus (Roscher *Lex.*, ii. 2306).

Athenian ritual. It would be simpler to say that the Cult of Apollo the Healer has reached Athens on two different lines.¹

This is not the whole of the evidence : there are traces of an Apollo Μαλοεῖς, which must surely be related to Apollo Maleates ; in an inscription from Lesbos (IGI. ii. 484) we find as follows :—

τᾶς
τε Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος
Μαλ(οέ)ντος ἀρχίχορον καὶ ἴε-
ροκάρυκα τῶν γερέων.

It seems then, natural to conclude that we have evidence to warrant us in a belief in an Apollo of the Apple-tree.²

With regard to the occurrence of both Apollo and Maleates at Athens, Farnell justly observes³ that “two sacrifices to the same divinity under different names are not infrequently prescribed in the same ritual code”. He thinks, however, that the objection made on the ground of quantity holds : “the verses of Isyllos have this value, if no other, that they prove that the first vowel in Μαλεάτης was short ; we must abandon . . . the supposition that the term could designate the ‘god of sheep’ or the ‘god of the apple-tree’”. So he looks for a geographical explanation either from Cape Malea at the South of Laconia, or an obscure place of the same name in Arcadia. The solution does not seem to me to be satisfactory : it does not explain the duplication of Apollo and Maleates, nor find ground for the diffusion of the title ; it leaves Apollo Maloeis still in obscurity, and loses sight of the parallel with Dionysos Sukeates. Probably some other explanation may be found of the short vowel in the Paean of Isyllos : the progression of the accent in Maleates might have something to do with it.

The actual passage in Isyllos is as follows :—

¹ The inscription is CIA. ii. 3, n. 1651. We should consult for the foregoing Wilamowitz, *Isyllos*, pp. 87, 89 ff., and Preller-Robert, *Gk. Myth.* i. 252. The latter says the cult exists at Sparta as well as Epidaurus, and suggests a Thessalian origin. (?)

² The inscription will be found in Conze, *Tab. XVIII. 1.* Bechtel, *Dialektinschr.* n. 255. Hoffmann, n. 168. Gruppe objects to the apple-tree, apparently on the ground that the first *a* in *Μαλεάτης* is short. But *vide infra*.

³ *Cults*, iv. 237.

οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκη πειραθείης
εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπίου, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἀγνοῦ
πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.

Isyllos himself derives the epithet Maleates from an eponymous Μᾶλος, whose name he scans with a long *alpha* in the very same line in which Μαλεάτα is introduced, as follows :—

πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτενξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα
βῶμον κτέ.

There is, therefore, no reason against our scanning the end of the line as

βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα

with spondaic ending and synizesis of the vowels (compare the spondaic ending of the first of the lines quoted above).

There seems to be no reason for ruling out the form Μαλεάτης in the way that Gruppe and Farnell get rid of it. Moreover, there are other possible explanations, though perhaps none is so probable as the one which is given above.

We must not forget that we have definite proof that the apple-tree was sacred at Delphi to the god Apollo. That comes out from a passage in Lucian's *Anacharsis*¹ where Solon explains that the prizes in athletic contests are “At Olympia a wreath of wild olive, at the Isthmus one of pine, at Nemea of parsley, at Pytho some of the god's sacred apples”. It will be difficult to ignore this bit of evidence ; Farnell (p. 134) admits that “the laurel, the plane-tree, the tamarisk, even the apple-tree, are sacred to him,” and that “some of his appellatives (!) are derived from them”.

The statement of Lucian may be illustrated (as Mr. A. B. Cook suggests to me) from a Delphian coin which shows the apples on the victor's table. We shall refer presently to the silver dish from Corbridge on the Tyne, containing, perhaps, a variant version of the *Judgment of Paris*, with the scene laid at Delphi, and Apollo, on that supposition, in the place of Paris. In this representation, we have the apple depicted on the altar of the god. On one altar we have certainly the Delphic apple : on the other we either have two apples, with a flame between them, or as



PLATE II.—COIN
OF DELPHI.

¹ *Anacharsis*, 9.

Mr. A. B. Cook thinks, two fire-fenders evolved out of a pair of archaic ritual horns. One apple suffices me for the desired cult-symbol. As to the meaning of the silver dish from the North of England, we shall have more to say presently.

To Mr. Cook I am also indebted for a couple of valuable confirmations of the theory of a cult-relation between Apollo and the apple.

The first is from the coins of Eleutherna in Crete, which have on one side a nude Apollo standing, with a round object in his right hand and a bow in his left.¹ This round object is commonly taken to be a



PLATE III.—
COIN OF EL-
EUTHERNA IN
CRETE.

stone; but Mr. Cook is almost certain, from a copper coin of Eleutherna in his own possession, showing Apollo with an apple in his hand, that the round object referred to is an apple.²

The next piece of evidence is more difficult to interpret. There was a famous sanctuary of Apollo, near Klazomenai, known as the Gynaean grove. The name was apparently derived from Gynos, an oak-stump, and is suggestive of the original connection of Apollo with the oak-tree. In this Gynaean grove was a tree bearing apples, which was the centre of a dispute between Mopsos and Colchas, who divined the number of apples on the tree. Note the connection of the sacred apple-tree with the sanctuary of Apollo.³

To the foregoing we may, perhaps, add the story which Antoninus Liberalis tells of the metamorphosis of the virgin Ktesulla into a white dove. This young lady was dancing at the Pythian festival by the altar of Apollo, and a certain Hermochares became enamoured of her, and sent a declaration of love inscribed on an apple. We see again the prominence given to the apple at Delphi, in the Pythian Festival, not only to the apple as the symbol of the god, but as a means of divination. Apparently what Hermochares did was to write on the apple the oracular statement that "You will wed an Athenian named Hermochares"; then he opened negotiations with the young lady's father, being previously unknown to either. This custom of

¹ Svoronos, *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne*. Macon, 1890, p. 138 f., pl. 12, 18 f.

² Cf. B.M. Cat. Crete, pl. 8, 12 f.

³ *Myth. Vat.* i. 194. *Serv. in Verg. Ecl.* 6, 72.

writing an oracle upon an apple for subsequent elucidation is well known to us from the *Judgment of Paris*, with its apple inscribed *To the Fair*. Divination by apples still survives in out-of-the-way corners. An old English custom is to peel an apple spirally, and throw the skin over your head without breaking it. The fate and shape of the projected apple-paring will tell your fortune in love, and reveal by its curves the name of your true lord or lady. Here it is in verse from the poet Gay :—¹

This mellow pippin which I pare around
My shepherd's name shall flourish on the ground.
I fling th' unbroken paring o'er my head,
Upon the grass a perfect L is read.

L stands for Lubberkin the desired shepherd.

My lady friends tell me they still practise this method of divination, which commonly results in an oracular S for their shepherd's name.

To the previous reasoning an objection may be made that the action of Hermochares in throwing the apple is nothing more than a conventional love-token. For example, here are cases of such love-apple throwing from the Greek Anthology :—

No. 78.

$\tau\hat{\omega}$ μήλω βάλλω σε · σὺ δ' εἰ μὲν ἔκοῦσα φίλεις με,
δεξαμένη τῆς σῆς παρθενίης μετάδος ·
εἰ δ' ἄρ' ὁ μὴ γίγνουσι τούτοις τοῦτο λαβοῦσα,
σκέψαι τὴν ὥρην ὡς δλιγοχρόνιος.

No. 79.

Μῆλον ἔγώ · βάλλει με φιλῶν σέ τις · ἀλλ' ἐπίνευσον,
Ξανθίππη · κάγῳ καὶ σὺ μαραινόμεθα.

In each of these epigrams the apple is the love-token thrown by the man at the woman, with the warning that rejected love means fading beauty, the apple being in that case the symbol of decay which answers to the roses in the lines :—

Gather the roses while you may,
Old time is still a-flying, etc.

No doubt the custom of love-making by apple-throwing existed. At

¹ Gay, *The Shepherd's Week*. (The custom referred to is not confined to the British Isles; I have noted it in Norway and in Mesopotamia. It is a very old folk-custom.)

the same time, this does not quite meet the case of Hermochares and Ktesulla at the Pythian Festival. Here the apple is sacred as well as amatory, and we naturally expect an oracle. The custom for the gods to write decrees and oracles on fruit is not confined to Greek life. For example, in a painting on one of the rooms in the Memnonium, Rameses the second is seen seated under a persea-tree, on the fruits of which the supreme deity as Ra-Tum, the goddess of wisdom, and the sacred scribe (Thoth) are writing the name of the Pharaoh. Again, at Medinet Habou, Thothmes III is led before the tree of life by Hathor and Thoth, and on the fruits of the tree the god Amon-Ra is seen to be inscribing a sacred formula.¹

So here again we have the custom of writing oracles on fruits : and we infer that if the love-passage between Hermochares and Ktesulla had been a mere case of apple-throwing there would have been no reference to an inscription and no allusion to the Pythian Festival,² nor to the temple of Artemis into which the apple was thrown.

Here is another interesting confirmation of the connection between Apollo and the apple, and the diviner's art. In a Patmos scholion to a passage in Thucydides the object of which is to explain the title Μαλόεις as applied to Apollo, we are told that there was a young woman, a daughter of Teiresias, whose name was Manto ; when she was dancing one day, she lost a golden apple out of her necklace, and being sad over its loss she vowed that if she ever found it, she would establish a shrine in honour of Apollo ; this actually happened, and

¹ Joret, *Les Plantes dans l'Antiquité*, i. 262.

² For further reference with regard to apple-throwing see Gaidoz, *La réquisition d'amour et le symbolisme de la pomme* (*École pratique des sciences historiques et philologiques*, 1902). B. O. Foster, *Notes on the Symbolism of the Apple in Classical Antiquity*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Antiquity*, x. 39 ff. For the foregoing and other references I am not a little indebted to Mr. A. B. Cook. Gaidoz shows that in the Irish story of Condla the Red, a fairy throws the hero an apple. He now goes without food or drink for a month, living only on the magic apple, which grows again as fast as it is eaten. See also Vergil, *Ed.* 3, 64, for apple-throwing by the nymph Galatea :—

Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella,
Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

But this is from Theocritus.

Apollo was worshipped accordingly under the title of Apollo Maloeis. Note the recurrent features in the story : the young lady is a priestess of Apollo ; while her name (Manto) and her parentage (Teiresias) alike show that she is skilled in the art of the diviner. She is ornamented with a necklace of golden apples, to which it is natural to ascribe a religious significance ; they are symbolic of the ritual and of the god to whose service she is attached.¹

We may be asked parenthetically at this point, whether, in view of the use of the apple for purposes of divination, and the occurrence of the apple as a sacred symbol in the Cult of Apollo, we ought not to regard the famous *Judgment of Paris* as a modification of a previous *Judgment of Apollo*. The name by which Paris is commonly known in the Iliad is Alexandros, which need not be interpreted martially, as the Defender of other men, but is capable of bearing the meaning ἀλεξίκακος, which Macrobius says is given to Apollo, the Averter, i.e. of witchcrafts, poisons, etc.

Now it is not a little curious that we actually are said to have an artistic version of the apple-judgment in which Apollo takes the place of Paris, and makes the interpretation of the oracle inscribed on his own apple. The representation in question is upon a silver dish to which we have already referred, found at Corbridge near the Roman Wall in the year 1735. It will be found described by Professor Percy Gardner in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* for 1915, Pt. I, pp. 66-75. It represents a scene at Delphi, with the three great goddesses of the judgment in the centre, flanked on the left by Artemis (who seems to occupy the position of Hermes) and on the right by Apollo, with his bow in one hand, and his lyre at his back. It is certainly surprising that the scene of the judgment should be laid at Delphi and not on Mt. Ida. Is it really a *Judgment of Paris*, as

¹ The passage is as follows (see *Rev. de Phil.* i. 185) :—

Μάντω ἡ Τειρεσίου περὶ τὸν τόπον χωρεύοντα
τούτους μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραίου ἀπώλεστεν·
εὗξατο οὖν, εἰ εὑροι, λερὸν ἴδρυσειν τῷ θεῷ.
εύροιστα δὲ τὸ μῆλον τὸ ιερὸν ἴδρυσατο, καὶ
Μαλλόεις Ἀπόλλων ἐντεῦθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμάτο.

The same incident is referred to by Stephanos Byzantios, s.v. *Μαλλόεις* (sic), who took his information from the *Lesbika* of Hellanikos :—

Μαλλόεις· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Λέσβῳ· καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ιεροῦ Μαλλόεις,
ἀπὸ τοῦ μῆλου τῆς Μαντοῦς, ὡς Ἐλλανικὸς ἐν Λεσβικῶν πρώτων.

has been suggested? Upon this Professor Gardner remarks as follows:—

“The difficulty will be raised that the scene of judgment is not Ida but Delphi, and Apollo takes the place of Paris as judge. Apollo is certainly at home in his chief shrine. The Altar at his feet and the griffin indicate Delphi, and the fountain Castalia is symbolized by the vase to the left, where a rocky ground is clearly indicated. . . . It seems paradoxical to cite as a representation of the *Judgment of Paris* a scene where Paris does not appear . . . and where Delphi and not Ida is set forth as the place of the event. But we are justified in doing this because we have proof in several of the vases of Italian origin, that in one of the versions of the myth current in Hellenistic times Paris was thus superseded by Apollo.

“We have first a vase at Vienna of the fourth century B.C. on which, though Paris is present, the scene is shown to be Delphi, by the presence of Apollo leaning against his laurel, and a tripod. Later Paris disappears, as on an Apulian vase, where we have the three goddesses and Hermes, but no Paris, at Delphi, which is indicated by the sacred omphalos, and on either side of the omphalos we have figures of Zeus and Apollo. Apollo is seated as one at home, and Zeus is addressing him, evidently referring to him the point in dispute. . . . On another Italian vase, where the scene is still Delphi, as is shown by the presence of the omphalos, Zeus and not Apollo is seated on a throne as arbiter.”

Professor Gardner suggests that these monuments do represent an actual shifting of the tradition which he takes to be a shifting from Paris, who actually judges, to Apollo who ought to judge. At all events, it is clear that the Corbridge dish is not to be treated as containing a representation belonging to a silversmith of the third century A.D.,¹ but as containing a tradition of a much earlier period. And the question arises whether, if the theme has rightly been identified, the real shifting of the tradition is not in the opposite direction to that assumed by Professor Gardner, in view of the fact which we have brought to light that the apple which, with its oracle, is the real centre of the tradition, belongs to Apollo and should naturally be

¹ “It clearly is the work,” says Professor Gardner, “not of an inventive artist but of a long-established and well-trained school. In its fabric we can see the results of many generations of trained artificers.”

subject to his interpretation. The objection to this will be the well-attested antiquity of the Paris tradition. It is a very strong objection, but not a vital one, in view of the known persistence of folk-lore variants side by side with the canonical forms of the legend.

There is, however, a further possibility which may have to be reckoned with. Paris himself may be a duplicate Apollo who has either lost celestial rank or never quite attained to it, some primitive herb or herbalist, an ἀλεξιφάρμακος, of the Apolline order, just as Helen, whom he espouses, is suspect of being an original vegetable-deity. This would require that Paris also had an original apple-tree, on which oracles could be written. The problem is not yet capable of evaluation. I incline to believe that the solution lies in a displacement of Apollo (perhaps in his shepherd life) by the shepherd of Mt. Ida. To hold this opinion, it is not necessary to accept Professor Gardner's identification of the scene depicted on the Corbridge dish. That might be merely a group of Delphic deities, with associated cult-symbols, and need not have any historical or quasi-historical meaning.

If we have found our apple-god, we must not leave the consideration of this part of the subject without venturing at least a suggestion as to the reason for finding the apple-god in the neighbourhood of Asklepios. It may have arisen from the simple fact that, to the ancients, mistletoe and ivy both had medical value. The mistletoe, in particular, was almost a panacea ; and ivy retained its medical value nearly to our own times, as we have seen above from Gerard's *Herball*. This is not in the least affected by the fact that both plants are medically worthless ! If one wants to see the value of mistletoe, let him visit the Ainu of Japan, and ask what they think of it. Here is a reference from Mr. Batchelor's book, *The Ainu and their Folk-Lore* (p. 222) :—

"The Ainu, like many nations of Northern origin, hold the mistletoe in peculiar veneration. They look upon it as a medicine, good in almost every disease, and it is sometimes taken in food and at others separately as a decoction. . . . The mistletoe which grows upon the willow is supposed to have the greatest efficacy. This is because the willow is looked upon by them as being a specially sacred tree."

That is a very good specimen of how primitive medicine is

evolved. Perhaps Apollo owes his healing art to his connection with the mistletoe ! For it is not only in far distant Saghalien or Japan that the mistletoe is regarded as a panacea. Pliny (H.N. 16, 44, 95) reports that the Druids called it in their language *omnia sanantem*: which, according to Grimm is the Welsh *olhiach* or *all-heal*.¹ Thus East and West, which are supposed never to meet, are united in their medical judgment.

The way to test this statement of the medical value of the mistletoe is to consult the early medical writers, and the best way to approach them is through the early Herbals, of which we have already given a striking example in the use of ivy and of ground-ivy. It must be remembered that the medicine of which we speak is coloured on the one hand by astrological influences (each herb having its own planet), and on the other by the doctrine of sympathies.

Suppose, then, we turn to Culpepper's Herbal, and see what he says about mistletoe :—²

“(Mistletoe) Government and Virtues. This is under the dominion of the Sun, I do not question ; and can also take for granted that which grows upon oaks participates something of the nature of Jupiter, because an oak is one of his trees ; as also that which grows upon pear-trees and apple-trees participates something of his nature, because he rules the tree that it grows upon, having no root of its own. But why that should have most virtues that grows upon oaks I know not, unless because it is rarest and hardest to come by. . . . Clusius affirms that which grows upon pear-trees to be as prevalent, and gives order that it should not touch the ground after it is gathered ; and also saith that, being hanged about the neck, it remedies witchcraft.”

How redolent of antiquity this bit of folk-medicine is ! The mistletoe shows its solar virtue ; its connection with the sky-god through the oak in which the sky-god dwells ; and its transfer of its sanctity from the oak-tree to the apple, and it has, beside specific curative powers, the function of averting evil, in the comprehensive terms of witchcraft. Moreover, in a secondary sense, the sky-god

¹ The matter is discussed at length in Frazer, G.B. xi. 77 *sqq.*

² I quote from the edition of 1815 (p. 116), the first edition is, I believe, 1653. It follows Gerard and other Herbalists, but has many observations and bits of traditions of its own, some of them evidently of great antiquity.

and his power, resides in apple-tree and in pear-tree ; and Culpepper (or Clusius whom he quotes) might almost be a Druid in his care for the gathering of his medicine and his prohibition against its falling on the ground. It is just such a passage as the one we have quoted that brings out the parallelism between the mistletoe and the god Apollo, and helps us to see the latter as a projection from the former and from the tree on which it grows.

Those persons who tried to explain Apollo as the Averter were certainly right in fact, whatever they might have been in philology, for it is an exact description of the functions of the mistletoe, as well as the primitive belief of the early worshippers of the god in Grecian lands : and we see again that the plant is the real healer and the god its reflection.

It is very interesting to watch how medicine has evolved from the stage of the herbalist with his all-heal or panacea to that of the scientific man with his highly differentiated remedies. The progress of medicine has been phenomenally slow. In the eighteenth century it was still necessary in England to warn the domestic practitioner that the same herb would not cure all diseases or even the greater part of them. Here is an interesting passage from a medical herbalist, John Hill, M.D., a member of the Imperial Academy, who writes in the year 1770 on the *Virtues of British Herbs*, with an account of the diseases that they will cure.

P. viii : " This knowledge is not to be sought for in the old Herbals ; they contain but a small part of it : and what they hold is locked up in obscurity. They are excessive in their praises ; and in saying too much they say nothing. *All virtues are, in a manner, attributed to all Plants*, and 'tis the skill alone of a Physician that can separate in those that have any, which is the true. Turn to the Herbals of Gerard, Parkinson, or the more antient Turner, and you shall find in many instances, virtues of the most exalted kind related to Herbs, which, if you were to eat daily as sallads, would cause no alteration in the body." If we may judge from early Greek or modern Ainu medicine, the mistletoe should come under the historical judgement which Dr. Hill enunciates.

Now let us turn to the region of philology and see if we can find out the meaning of the name Apollo.

According to Gruppe, Apollon is Ionic, but the Greek dialects

show that there was originally an E in the place of O. Thus, we have, following Plato, the form *'Απλοῦν* in Thessaly ; and we find *'Απειλων* (which is clearly for *'Απελγων*) in Cyprus ; *'Απέλλων* is reported for Dreros and Knossos. The earlier form is commonly held to be involved in the name of the Macedonian Month *'Απελλαῖος*. The Oscan form is *Appellun* (Usener, *Götternamen*, 308), and the Etruscan is *Aplu*, *Aplun*, or *Apulu*.¹ We need not spend time over the Greek attempts to explain a word of which they had lost the meaning. No one would now propose a derivation from ἀπολύω or ἀπόλλυμι, or ἀπελαύνω. The only ancient derivation which finds any favour to-day is Macrobius' explanation :² "ut Apollinem apellentem intellegas, quem Athenienses ἀλεξίκακον appellant". This explanation of Apollo as the *Averter*, from a lost Greek stem corresponding to the Latin *pello* is, I believe, the one that finds most favour to-day.

But why should we not affirm a simpler solution, if we are to go outside the covers of the Greek lexicon ? The Greeks, and in part the Latins, had no primitive word for apple : malum and pomus are philologically afterthoughts. What hinders our saying that *Apellon* is simply *apple* ? We should, then, understand at a glance the title *Apollo Maleates*, and the curious duplication of Apollo and Maleates in the Asklepios cult in Athens.

The professional etymologists do not know anything about the origin of our word *apple*. Skeat, in his Etym. Dict., gives us the following :—

- " M.E. *appel*, *appil*.
- A.S. *aapl*, *aeppl*.
- O. Fries. } *appel*.
- Du. }
- Icel. *epli*.
- Swed. *äple*, *äpple*.
- Dan. *aeble*.
- OHG. *aphol*, *aphul*.
- G. *apfel*.
- Irish. *abhal*.

¹ See Corssen, *Sprache der Etrusker*, i. 820.
Macrobius, *Sat.* i. 17, 14 ff.

Gael. *ubhal*.

Welsh. *afal*.

Bret. *aval*.

cf. also

Russ. *jabloko*.

Lith. *obolys*, etc."

and then remarks, "origin unknown: some connect it with Abella in Campania: cf. Verg. *Aen.* vii. 740. This is not satisfactory." Thus Skeat: but perhaps without doing justice to the Vergilian reference; when Vergil speaks of *maliferae moenia Abellae*, we need not derive apple from Abella, but it is quite conceivable that the city may be derived philologically from its fruit. We will return to this point presently.

My suggestion, then, is that the name Apollo (Apellon) came from the North, the region of the Hyperboreans to which tradition refers the god; and that it is the exact equivalent of the apple-tree. We are dealing with a borrowed cult, and with a loan-word. If this can be maintained without violence to philological considerations, it will harmonise exactly with the parallel case of Dionysos, and with the investigations which have led us to the hypothesis of an apple-tree god. It will explain what has sometimes caused perplexity, the want of any parallel to Apollo in the Northern religions. He is really there both as sacred apple-tree and as mistletoe, but is not personified, unless he should turn out to be Balder.

It may, perhaps, be asked whether the interpretation suggested will not require one or two other re-interpretations. For example, the month *Apellaeus* in the Macedonian calendar is commonly interpreted as Apollo's month, on the analogy of *Dios* as the month of Zeus. There is, however, a possibility that it may mean apple-month, just as *Lenaeon* means vintage-month. I have not, however, as yet succeeded in finding an ancient calendar with an apple-month in it.¹ The actual position of the month *Apellaeus* in the Macedonian calendar is also not quite clear. It may be September or October, but it may be later. At Delphi it appears to be the first month of the year and has been equated with June.

¹ There is an apple-month in Byzantium, by the name *Μαλοφόριος* equated with the Attic-month Pyanepsion, i.e. September or October. See Bischoff, *De fastis Gr. antiq.*, 374.

Another question that may be asked relates to that part of Italy, on the Adriatic side, which goes by the name of Apulia. It is generally held that this is a name given to the country by Greek colonists, who named it after their god. The form is very near to the Etruscan spelling (Aplu, Apulun), but we should have expected something more like Apollonia if the god were meant. There is, moreover, a question whether it may not have been named apple-land, much in the same way as the Norse navigators gave the name of Vinland to the part of the American coast which they discovered, perhaps at a time when the wild grapes were ripe. There is another very interesting parallel that may be adduced in this connection. When King Arthur died, he was carried away to the islands of the blessed, to the island of Avalon or Avilion : the name is Celtic, very nearly the Breton form for apple.¹ And it was an apple-country to which Arthur was carried, a fact which Tennyson has versified for us :—

The island valley of Avilion,
Where falls not rain, or hail or any snow,
Nor ever wind blows loudly, but it lies
Deep-meadowed, happy, fair with orchard-lawns.

It is, then, quite possible that the name Apulia was given by Greek settlers, not from religious motives, but in harmony with their first observations of the products of the country. Here, however, as in the case of the month *Apellaeus*, we are at present in the region of unsupported conjecture.

We have inferred that Apollo is a loan-word in Greek derived from a Northern name for the apple.

Now let us return to the point which came up in regard to the suggested derivation of apple from *Abella* in Campania. Our contention is that the derivation is in the reverse order, and that *Abella* is an apple-town, just as, for example, Appledore in N. Devon. The difficulty in the former supposition is that all the sound-changes in the various words for *apple* from Lithuania to Ireland are perfectly regular ; so that we should have to assume that the form *Abal* was borrowed by the Celts in one of their early Italian invasions and transferred to the Northern nations, before the characteristic sound-changes had been produced. It seems much easier to suggest that

¹ See Friend, *Flowers and Flower-lore*, i. 199.

the motion has been in the opposite direction, and that the Celts brought the word into Italy, instead of discovering the fruit there, and naming it after the place where they found it. In which connection we note that Vergil, who has spoken of the "walls of apple-bearing *Abella*," goes on to speak of the un-Italian martial habits of the people of *Abella*, who follow the warriors of the North in their military customs :—

Et quos maliferae despiciunt moenia *Abellae*,
Teutonico ritu soliti torquere cateias.

Aen. vii. 740, 1.

The original settlers of *Abella* may conceivably have been Celts. O. Schrader puts the case as follows for the borrowing of the fruit by the Celts :—

" As the names of most of our fruit trees come from the Latin : cherry (*cerasus*), fig (*ficus*), pear (*pirus*), mulberry (*morus*), plum (*prunus*), etc.—I would rather assume that the names of the apple . . . are to be derived from Italy, from a town of fruitful Campania, celebrated for the cultivation of fruit-trees, *Abella*, modern *Avella Vecchia*. Here the cultivation of another fruit, the nut, was so important that *abellana* sc. *nux* = *nux*. In the same way the Irish *aball* . . . may have come from *malum abellatum* as the German *bäfirsch* comes from *malum persicum*. . . .

" Attractive, however, as this derivation is, as regards the facts, I do not disguise from myself that phonetically the regularity with which Ir. *b* (*aball*), Dutch *p* (Eng. *apple*), H.G. *pf* (*apfel*), Lith. *b* (*obulas*) correspond to each other, is disturbing in a set of loan-words. In Teutonic, especially, there seem to be no Latin loan-words which have been subjected to the First Sound-shifting. I assume, accordingly, that the Celts, as early as their inroad into Italy, took into their language a word corresponding to the Irish *aball*, which spread to the Teutons before the First Sound-shifting, and thence to the other Northern members of the Indo-Germanic family" (*Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples*, trans. by F. B. Jevons. Lond. 1890, p. 276).

Some years later Schrader went further with the inquiry, and admitted that "it was possible that, after all, *Abella* might be originally related to the North European names for the apple, and that the place might be named after the fruit and not the fruit

after the place"¹ (*Real-Lexikon der indogermanischen Altertums*. Strassburg, 1901, 43).

It would seem to be involved in the preceding argument that the fundamental characteristic of the Cult of Apollo is to be sought in the region of medicine ; to put it in the language of mythology, that he was Paian before he was Apollo. Assuming that Paian or Paion is the proper term to be applied to a god of healing, as to Zeus, Asklepios, Apollo, or Dionysos, we have to look for the origin of the Healer in the plant that heals. Zeus and Asklepios will be healers through the links that bind them to the oak and the magic mistletoe : Dionysos will become medical because he is ivy, and ivy has great prominence in primitive medicine, for reasons which we have explained. The case of Apollo considered as a healer who personifies a healing plant, may be a little more complex ; we have shown how he is connected with the mistletoe and the apple-tree ; and also with the laurel ; there are suspicions, however, that he may be also connected with the peony, or Paian-flower, of which folk-medicine has so much to say. Then there is the curious tradition that, in the country of the Hyperboreans, there was a sacred garden dedicated to Apollo, and a worship of the god the priesthood of which cult was in the hands of the family of Boreads. Was this garden merely an apple-orchard with mistletoe growing on the trees, or may it not be possible that the peony and other sacred plants with solar virtues may have been tended within its enclosures ?

Our knowledge of this garden comes from a fragment of Sophocles (probably from the tragedy of *Oreithyia*), in which the poet speaks of the capture of the maiden Oreithyia by the god of the North Wind, who carries her away to the farthest bourne of earth and heaven, *to the ancient garden of Apollo*. Strabo, who is discussing the geographical distribution of the Goths and Germans, turns aside to speak contemptuously of those who mythologize about the Land at the Back of the North Wind, and the deeds that are done there, such as the capture of Oreithyia by Boreas. The lines of Sophocles

¹ Precisely the same conclusion is reached, but with a more positive statement, by Hoops in *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen in germanischen Alterthum* (Strassburg, 1905, p. 477 ff.). Feist, on the other hand, thinks the question must be left undecided (*Kultur, Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen*. Berlin, 1913, p. 190).

which he quotes are, however, of the first value to us. They show that Apollo was a Hyperborean god ; and that his sanctuary was in a garden. This was the kind of god that came in with one of the great migrations from the North. He brought his vegetable counterparts with him ; certainly the sacred apple came South, as we have shown from the worship of Delphi, and perhaps some other sacred plants. In this far Northern land, in some Island of the Blest, the deity was under the priestly care of the Boread family ;¹ perhaps in the first instance the cult was presided over by priestesses, Snow-maidens, of whom the White maidens of Delos may be taken as the representatives. Their male counterparts are the Sons of Boreas. If we have rightly divined the meaning of the White maidens of the North, Hyperoche and Laodike, who were the primitive Delian saints, we must allow that the heroes Hyperochos and Laodikos, whose shrines are in the sacred enclosure at Delphi, are a pair of Boreads, who, further North and in earlier days, would have been the priests of the sanctuary. The actual passage of Strabo, with the fragment of Sophocles, to which we have been referring is as follows :

Strabo, vii. p. 295. Nauck, *Fragg. Trag. Gr.* ed. 2, p. 333 : οὐδὲ γὰρ εἴ τινα Σοφοκλῆς τραγῳδεῖ περὶ τῆς Ὀρειθύιας, λέγων ὡς ἀναρπαγεῖσα ὑπὸ Βορέου κομισθείη

ὑπέρ τε πόντου πάντ' ἐπ' ἔσχατα χθονός
νυκτός τε πηγὰς οὐρανοῦ τ' ἀναπτυχάς,
Φοίβου παλαιὸν κῆπον,

οὐδὲν ἀν εἴη πρὸς τὸ νῦν, ἀλλὰ ἔατέον.

For *κῆπον* in the third line some editors propose to emend *σηκόν*, because, as Miss Harrison says, they did not understand it ! Certainly the garden must stand, and it is the sacred garden of old-time, in the land of the Hyperboreans, to which ancient garden a modern garden at Delphi must have corresponded.

We may confirm our previous observation that the “garden of Apollo” was a real garden and probably a medical garden in the following way :—

We learn from Aristides Rhetor that the goddess Hygieia, who is commonly looked upon as a feminine counterpart of Asklepios, but

¹ Diodore, 2, 47, μυθολογοῦσι δ' ἐν αὐτῇ [τῇ νήσῳ] τὴν Αητὼ γεγονέναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μάλιστα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμᾶται κτέ.

who is in reality an independent young lady who lives next door to him and manages her own affairs, had such a medical garden as we have been speaking of. *To these gardens the sons of Asklepios were taken to be reared after their birth.* Nothing could be clearer, they were medical gardens. The first doctors must have been herbalists. This striking instance confirms us in our previous statements about the garden of Apollo.¹ We see also the importance of folk-medicine in theology. The history of one overlaps the history of the other.

There are also traces of sacred gardens belonging to Artemis, and to Hecate (who is in some points of view almost the feminine counterpart of Apollo and a double of Artemis). For the former we may refer to the garlands which Hippolytus gathers for the goddess from a garden into which none but the initiate may enter (*Eur. Hipp.* 73 *sqq.*) : for the latter (a real witch's garden full of magic plants), we have the description and botanical summary in the *Orphic Argonautika*, 918 *sqq.*

In the Corbridge dish, to which we were alluding just now, the foreground is occupied by "a meadow in which plants grow". According to Percy Gardner, this meadow with its associated plants and animals is conventional. The objection to this is that the fount of Castaly is not conventional ornament ; the animals represented are not conventional ; the stag and the dog belong to the huntress Artemis, the griffin belongs to Apollo. If, then, the animals are cult figures, what of the plants ? One of them appears to be a figure of a pair of mistletoe leaves, with the berries at the junction of the leaves ;² the other is, perhaps, the peony. I should, therefore, suggest that the meadow in question is the medical garden of Apollo.

In conclusion of this brief study, it may be pointed out that we have emphasised strongly the Hyperborean origin of Apollo and his cult. There have been, from time to time, attempts to find the home of the god in more Southern regions, and with the aid of Semitic philology. The most seductive of such theories was one for which, I believe, Professor Hommel was responsible, that Apollo was a

¹ For the reference, see Aristides, vii. 1, ed. Dindorf, p. 73 : ομγενένοις δὲ αὐτὸν τρέφει ὁ πατὴρ εἰν Ὑγείας κήποις.

² We should have expected a slip of bay-tree, but the bay-tree leaves do not come off from the stalk in pairs, as the mistletoe leaves do.

Greek equivalent of Jabal or Jubal in the Book of Genesis : and the linguistic parallel between the names was certainly reinforced by the existence of Jubal's lyre, and by the occurrence of a sister in the tradition of the triad in Genesis. That such transfers are possible appears to be made out from the case of Palaimon, who is a Corinthian modification of Baal-yam, the Lord of the Sea. We are, however, satisfied as to the Northern origin of Apollo, just as we are satisfied, until very convincing considerations to the contrary are produced, of the Thracian origin of Dionysos. The argument of the previous pages proceeds from the known overlapping and similarity of the cults of the two deities in question. Neither can be detached from the Sky-father, nor from the oak and its surrogates. Each appears to be connected with the production of fire by means of fire-sticks ; in some respects this is the greatest of all human discoveries, and its history deserves a newer and more complete treatment. The connection of Apollo and Dionysos with the parasitic growths of the Sky-tree appears to be made out : and the parallelism between an Ivy-Dionysos and a Mistletoe-Apollo has been exhibited, with support from inscriptions. A new field has been opened out in the connection between early medicine and early religion, and it has been suggested that Apollo's reputation as a Healer, and Averter, may have a simple vegetable origin. A similar medical divinisation occurs in the case of the goddess Panakeia, the daughter of Asklepios ; her name is a simple translation of a vegetable "all-heal".

Nothing further has been brought out as to the meaning of the associated Cult of Apollo's twin sister Artemis, beyond the suggestions which have already been made on the side of Twin Cult in my book *Boanerges*. There is evidently much more research needed into the origin and functions of the Great Huntress. Our next essay will, therefore, deal with the origin of the Cult of Artemis ; we shall approach it from the side of the related Cult of Apollo, and bring forward, incidentally, some further and perhaps final proofs of the correctness of our identification of Apollo with the Apple-tree.

THE INFLUENCE OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CIVILIZATION IN THE EAST AND IN AMERICA.¹

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IN the lectures (2) which in former years I have delivered at the John Rylands Library, I discussed the problems of the gradual diffusion of Egypt's influence to the neighbouring parts of Africa, Asia, and the Eastern Mediterranean Islands and Coasts, which began at a very early historical period. On the present occasion I am calling attention to a mass of evidence which seems to prove that, towards the close of the period of the New Empire, or perhaps even a little later, a great many of the most distinctive practices of Egyptian civilization suddenly appeared in more distant parts of the coast-lines of Africa, Europe, and Asia, and also in course of time in Oceania and America; and to suggest that the Phoenicians must have been the chief agents in initiating the wholesale distribution of this culture abroad.

The Mediterranean has been the scene of so many conflicts between rival cultures that it is a problem of enormous complexity and difficulty to decipher the story of Egyptian influence in its much-scored palimpsest. For the purposes of my exposition it is easier to study its easterly spread, where among less cultured peoples it blazed its track and left a record less disturbed by subsequent developments than in the West. Mr. W. J. Perry has shown that once the easterly cultural migration has been studied the more complicated events in the West can be deciphered also.

The thesis I propose to submit for consideration, then, is (*a*) that the essential elements of the ancient civilizations of India, Further Asia, the Malay Archipelago, Oceania, and America were brought in succession to each of these places by mariners, whose oriental migrations

¹ An elaboration of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, on 10th March, 1915. The numbers in brackets refer to the notes at the end.

(on an extensive scale) began as trading intercourse between the Eastern Mediterranean and India some time after 800 B.C. (and continued for many centuries [see (3) and (4)]) ; (b) that the highly complex and artificial culture which they spread abroad was derived largely from Egypt (not earlier than the XXI. Dynasty), but also included many important accretions and modifications from the Phoenician world around the Eastern Mediterranean, from East Africa (and the Soudan), Arabia, and Babylonia¹ ; (c) that, in addition to providing the leaven which stimulated the development of the pre-Aryan civilization of India, the cultural stream to Burma, Indonesia, the eastern littoral of Asia and Oceania was in turn modified by Indian influences ; and (d) that finally the stream, with many additions from Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia, as well as from China and Japan, continued for many centuries to play upon the Pacific littoral of America, where it was responsible for planting the germs of the remarkable Pre-Columbian civilization. The reality of these migrations and this spread of culture is substantiated (and dated) by the remarkable collection of extraordinary practices and fantastic beliefs which these ancient mariners distributed along a well-defined route from the Eastern Mediterranean to America. They were responsible for stimulating the inhabitants of the coasts along a great part of their extensive itinerary (a) to adopt the practice of mummification, characterized by a variety of methods, but in every place with remarkable identities of technique and associated ritual, including the use of incense and libations, a funerary bier and boat, and certain peculiar views regarding the treatment of the head, the practice of remodelling the features and the use of statues, the possibility of bringing the dead to life, and the wanderings of the dead and its adventures in the underworld ; (b) to build a great variety of megalithic monuments, conforming to certain well-defined types which present essentially identical features throughout a considerable extent, or even the whole, of the long itinerary, and in association with these monuments identical traditions, beliefs, and customs ; (c) to make idols in connexion with which were associated ideas concerning the possibility of human beings or animals living in stones, and of the petrifaction of men and women, the story of the deluge, of the divine origin of kings, who are generally the children of the sun or of the sky, and of the origin of the chosen people from incestuous unions ; (d) to worship the sun and adopt in reference to this

deity a complex and arbitrary symbolism representing an incongruous grouping of a serpent in conjunction with the sun's disc equipped with a hawk's wings (Fig. 1), often associated also with serpent-worship or in other cases the belief in a relationship with or descent from serpents ; (e) to adopt the practices of circumcision, tattooing, massage, piercing and distending the ear-lobules, artificial deformation of the skull, and perhaps trephining, dental mutilations, and perforating the lips and nose ; (f) to practise weaving linen, and in some cases to make use of Tyrian purple, pearls, precious stones, and metals, and conch-shell trumpets, as well as the curious beliefs and superstitions attached to the latter ; (g) to adopt certain definite metallurgical methods, as well as mining ; (h) to use methods of intensive agriculture, associated with the use of terraced irrigation, the artificial terraces being retained with stone walls ; (i) to adopt certain phallic ideas and practices ; (j) to make use of the swastika symbol, and to adopt the idea that stone implements are thunder-teeth or thunderbolts and the beliefs associated with this conception ; (k) to use the boomerang ; (l) to hold certain beliefs regarding "the heavenly twins" ; (m) to practise couvade ; (n) to adopt the same games ; and (o) to display a special aptitude for, and skill and daring in, maritime adventures, as well as to adopt a number of curiously arbitrary features of boat-building.

Many of the items in this list I owe to Mr. W. J. Perry, to whose co-operation and independent researches the conclusiveness of the case I am putting before you is due. But above all the credit is due to him of having so clearly elucidated the motives for the migrations and explained why the new learning took root in some places and not in others.

That this remarkable cargo of fantastic customs and beliefs was really spread abroad, and most of them at one and the same time, is shown by the fact that in places as far apart as the Mediterranean and Peru, as well as in many intermediate localities, these cultural ingredients were linked together in an arbitrary and highly artificial manner, to form a structure which it is utterly impossible to conceive as having been built up independently in different places.

The fact that some of the practices which were thus spread abroad were not invented in Egypt and Phœnicia until the eighth century B.C. makes this the earliest possible date for the commencement of the great wandering.

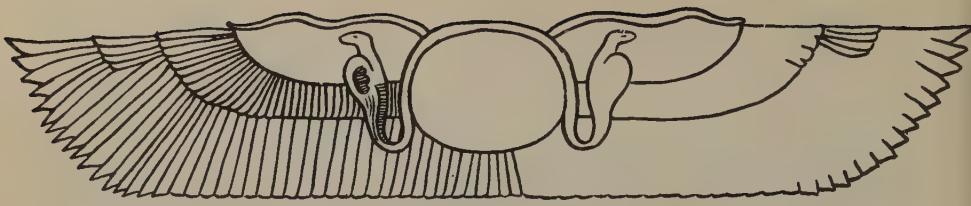


FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

FIG. 1.—The winged disc from the lintel of the door of an Egyptian temple of the New Empire Period (see note 23).

Note the serpents' tails along the upper margin and the first stage of conventionalizing the body.

FIG. 2.—The Assyrian winged disc. The figure in the winged circle is the god Ahuramazda. This illustrates the widespread custom of replacing the disc by the dominant deity.

FIG. 3.—A portion of the winged disc found on the lintel of the door of a temple at Ococingo in Chiapas, from a drawing by Waldeck, which is supposed by Bancroft (from whose book I have borrowed it) to be restored in part from Waldeck's imagination (Bancroft, "The Native Races of the Pacific States," 1875, Vol. IV, p. 351). Whether this is so or not, sufficient of the real design was reproduced by Stephens and Calderwood ("Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan," London, 1854, p. 384) to show that it is a winged disc, clearly modelled on the well-known Egyptian design, Fig. 1, but reversed (upside down), as in a Syrian relief figured by Spamer (see Nuttall, *op. cit.*, p. 428). Spinden, however, states that it is not the disc, but the "Serpent-Bird". The serpents of the Egyptian design have become transformed in the Mexican example into a conventionalized geometrical pattern.

FIG. 4.—The "Serpent-Bird" or "Feathered Snake" god Kukulkan, from Tikal (after Maudslay and Joyce). A later and more highly "Americanized" representation of the winged disc and serpents. The god's face now replaces the disc, as in some of the Asiatic derivatives of the Egyptian design. The conventionalization of the serpent's "body" into a simple cross (the first stage of this process is found on the Egyptian monuments) is seen here as in the Ococingo design (Fig. 3). A striking confirmation of this interpretation is supplied by Maudslay, who has shown that the pattern below the cross (which I have identified as the snake's body) is really a very highly conventionalized serpent's head reversed. The original design for this head was a dragon presenting close analogies with those of both China and Babylonia. The artist has confused the head with the tail of the serpent and blended them into one design. Further modifications and transformations of the winged disc design are seen in America, as, for example, the stone relief at Chichen Itza, showing Kukulkan-Quetzacoatl (see Joyce, "Mexican Archaeology," 1914, Fig. 87, p. 367).

In some of the earliest Egyptian graves, which cannot be much less than sixty centuries old, pottery has been found decorated with paintings representing boats of considerable size and pretensions. The making of crude types of boats was perhaps one of the first, if not actually the earliest, manifestations of human inventiveness : for primitive men in the very childhood of the species were able to use rough craft made of logs, reeds, or inflated skins, to ferry themselves across sheets of water which otherwise would have proved insuperable hindrances to their wanderings. But the Egyptian boats of 4000 B.C. probably represented a considerable advance in the art of naval construction ; and before the Predynastic period had come to a close the invention of metal tools gave a great impetus to the carpenter's craft, and thus opened the way for the construction of more ambitious ships.

Whether or not the Predynastic boatmen ventured beyond the Nile into the open sea is not known for certain, although the balance of probability inclines strongly to the conclusion that they did so.

But there is positive evidence to prove that as early as 2800 B.C. maritime intercourse was definitely established along the coasts of the Eastern Mediterranean, bringing into contact the various peoples, at any rate those of Egypt and Syria, scattered along the littoral. Egyptian seamen were also trafficking along the shores of the Red Sea ; and there are reasons ([5], p. 143) for believing that in Protodynastic times such intercourse may have extended around the coast of Arabia, as far as the Sumerian settlement at the head of the Persian Gulf, thus bringing into contact the homes of the world's most ancient civilizations.

More daring seamen were venturing out into the open sea, and extending their voyages at least as far as Crete : for the geographical circumstances at the time in question make it certain that Neolithic culture could not have reached that island in any other way than by maritime intercourse.

The Early Minoan Civilization, as well as the later modifications of Cretan burial customs, such as the making of rock-cut tombs and the use of stone for building, were certainly inspired in large measure by ideas brought from Egypt.

Long before the beginning of the second millennium B.C. the germs of the Egyptian megalithic culture had taken deep root, not



FIG. 6.—BAS-RELIEF OF SETI I PRESENTING THE FIGURE OF TRUTH TO OSIRIS, FROM THE TEMPLE AT ABYDOS.

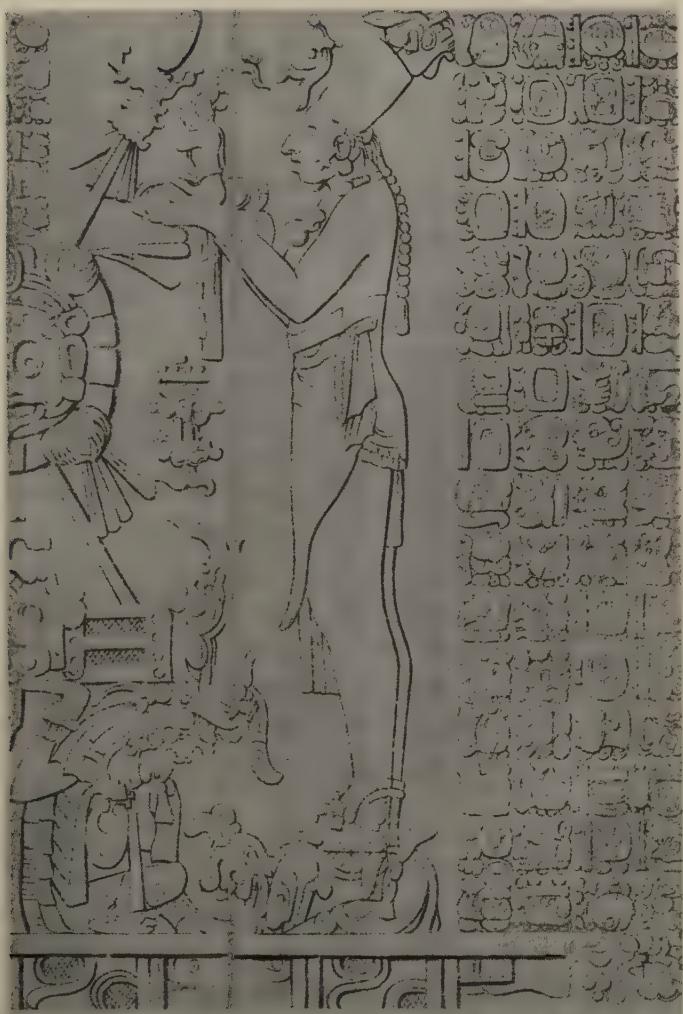


FIG. 7.—A SIMILAR RELIEF FROM THE SANCTUARY SHOWN IN FIG. 5.

only in Crete itself, but also throughout the Ægean and the coasts of Asia Minor and Palestine.

In course of time, as the art of ship-building advanced and the mariners' skill and experience increased, no doubt more extensive and better-equipped enterprises were undertaken. [For a concise summary of the evidence see [3], pp. 120 *et seq.*] Instances of this are provided by the famous expedition to the land of Punt in Queen Hatshepsut's reign (6) and the exploits of the Minoan seamen of Crete.

Such commercial intercourse cannot fail to have produced a slow diffusion of culture from one people to another, even if it was primarily of the nature of a mere exchange of commodities. But as the various civilizations gradually assumed their characteristic forms a certain conventionalism and a national pride grew up, which protected each of these more cultured communities from being so readily influenced by contact with aliens as it was in the days of its uncultured simplicity. Each tended to become more and more conscious of its national peculiarities, and immune against alien influences that threatened to break down the rigid walls of its proud conservatism.

It was not until the Minoan state had fallen and Egypt's dominion had begun to crumble that a people free from such prejudices began to adopt (7) all that it wanted from these hide-bound civilizations. To its own exceptional aptitude for and experience in maritime exploits it added all the knowledge acquired by the Egyptians, Minoans, and the peoples of Levant. It thus took upon itself to become the great intermediary between the nations of antiquity ; and in the course of its trafficking with them, it did not scruple to adopt their arts and crafts, their burial customs, and even their gods. In this way was inaugurated the first era of really great sea-voyages in the world's history. For the trafficking with these great proud empires proved so profitable that the enterprising intermediaries who assumed the control of it, not only of bartering their merchandise one with the other, but also of supplying their wants from elsewhere, soon began to exploit the whole world for the things which the wealthy citizens of the imperial states desired [P].

There can be no doubt that it was the Phœnicians, lured forth into the unknown oceans in search of gold, who first broke through the bounds of the Ancient East (8) and whose ships embarked upon these earliest maritime adventures on the grand scale. Their

achievements and their motives present some analogies to those of the great European seamen of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries who raided the East Indies and the Spanish Main for loot. But the exploits of the Phoenicians must be regarded as even greater events, not only by reason of the earlier period in which they were accomplished, but also from their vast influence upon the history of civilization in outlying parts of the world, as well as for inaugurating new methods of commerce and extending the use of its indispensable instrument, gold currency (Perry, *vide infra*).

Their doings are concisely set forth in the twenty-seventh chapter of the Book of Ezekiel, where Tyre is addressed in these words : "Who is there like Tyre, like her that is brought to silence in the midst of the sea ? When thy wares went forth out of the seas, thou filledst many peoples : thou didst enrich the kings of the earth with the multitude of thy riches, and of thy merchandise."

Many circumstances were responsible for extending these wider ramifications of maritime trade, so graphically described in the rest of the same chapter of Ezekiel. As I have already explained, it was not merely the desire to acquire wealth, but also the appreciation of the possibilities of doing so that prompted the Phoenicians' exploits. Not being hampered by any undue respect for customs and conventions, they readily acquired and assimilated to themselves all the practical knowledge of the civilized world, whether it came from Egypt, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, or the Ægean. They were sprung from a pre-eminently maritime stock and probably had gained experience in seamanship in the Persian Gulf : and when they settled on the Syrian Coast they were also able to add to their knowledge of such things all that the Egyptians and the population of the Levant and Ægean had acquired for themselves after centuries of maritime adventure. But one of the great factors in explanation of the naval supremacy of the Phœnicians was their acquaintance with the facts of astronomy. The other peoples of the Ancient East had acquired a considerable knowledge of the stars, the usefulness of which, however, was probably restricted by religious considerations. Whether this be so or not, there can be no doubt that the Phœnicians were not restrained by any such ideas from putting to its utmost practical application the valuable guide to navigation in the open sea which this astronomical learning supplied.

They were only able to embark upon their great maritime enterprises in virtue of the use they made of the pole-star for steering. This theme has been discussed in great detail by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall (9); and although I am unable to accept a great part of her argument from astronomy, the evidence in substantiation of the use made of the pole-star for navigation, not only in the Mediterranean, but also by seamen navigating along the coasts of Asia and America, cannot be questioned.

Within recent years there has been a remarkable reaction against the attitude of a former generation, which perhaps unduly exaggerated certain phases of the achievements of the Phoenicians.

But the modern pose of minimizing their influence surely errs too much in the other direction, and is in more flagrant conflict with the facts of history and archæology than the former doctrine, which its sponsors criticize so emphatically. Due credit can be accorded to the Egyptians, Minoans, and other ancient mariners, without in any way detracting from the record of the Phoenicians, whose exploits could hardly have attained such great and widespread notoriety among the ancients without very real and substantial grounds for their reputation. The recent memoirs of Siret (10), Dahse (11), Nuttall (9), and the writer (M) have adduced abundant evidence in justification of the greatness of their exploits. Professor Sayce says : "They were the intermediaries of the ancient civilizations"; and that by 600 B.C. they had "penetrated to the north-west coast of India and probably to the island of Britain". "Phœnician art was essentially catholic . . . it assimilated the art of Babylonia, Egypt, and Assyria, superadding something of its own. . . . The cities of the Phoenicians were the first trading communities the world has seen. Their colonies were originally mere marts and their voyages of discovery were taken in the interests of trade. The tin of Britain, the silver of Spain, the birds of the Canaries, the frankincense of Arabia, the pearls and ivory of India all flowed into their harbours" (quoted by Mrs. Nuttall (9), *op. cit.*, p. 520).

These were the distinctive features of the Phoenicians' activities, of which Mr. Hogarth (8, pp. 154-159) gives a concise and graphic summary. But, as Mr. Perry has pointed out (12), they were led forth above all in search for gold. As he suggests, the Phoenicians seem to have been one of the first peoples to have assigned to gold the kind of

importance and value that civilized people have ever since attached to it. It was no longer merely material for making jewellery : "it became a currency, which made the foundation of civilization not only possible but inevitable, once such a currency came into being" (Perry).

The remarks addressed to Tyre in the Book of Ezekiel (xxvii. 9 *et seq.*) give expression to these ideas : "All the ships of the sea with their mariners were in thee to occupy thy merchandise. . . . Tarshish was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of all kinds of riches ; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded for thy wares. . . . Syria was thy merchant by reason of the multitude of thy handy-works : they traded for thy wares with emeralds, purple, and broidered work, and fine linen, and coral [probably pearls], and rubies ; they traded for thy merchandise wheat of Minnith, and Pannag, and honey, and oil, and balm. . . . The traffickers of Sheba and Raamah, they were thy traffickers : they traded for thy wares with chief of all spices, and with all precious stones, and gold. . . . The ships of Tarshish were thy caravans for thy merchandise ; and thou was replenished, and made very glorious in the heart of the seas. Thy rowers have brought thee into great waters : the east wind has broken thee in the heart of the seas."

The Phœnicians in fact controlled the commerce of most of the civilized world of that time ; and they did so mainly because of their superior skill and daring in seamanship, their newly realized appreciation of the value of gold, and their desire for precious stones and pearls, for which they began to ransack every country near and far. So thoroughly did they, and their pupils and imitators, accomplish their mission that only one pearl-field in the whole world (the West Australian site at Broome) escaped their exploitation (Perry, [12]).

Many of their great maritime adventures have been recorded by the ancient classical writers. The reality of others, for example, to India, which have not been specifically described, are none the less certain : not only was there most intimate intercourse between the Red Sea and India at the very time when the Phœnicians were displaying great activity in the Indian Ocean (M, p. 77 ; P, p. 210 and elsewhere), but the methods and the motives, no less than the cargoes, of these energetic and skilful mariners, whose exploits are celebrated in the *Mahābhārata*, and whose achievements are indelibly impressed upon Indian culture, proclaim them unmistakably to be Phœnicians.

(For a mass of detailed information on these matters see the notes in P.)

In the course of this trading there was not only an interchange of the articles of commerce provided by the Mediterranean countries and India, as well as by all the intermediate ports of call, but also there is the most positive evidence, in the multitude of western practices which suddenly made their appearance in India, at the very time when this free trafficking became definitely established, in demonstration of the fact that the civilizations of the West were exerting a very potent cultural influence upon the Dravidian population of India. Many of the customs which made their first appearance in India at that epoch, such as mummification, the making of rock-cut temples, and stone tombs (and many others of the long list of practices enumerated earlier in the present discourse) were definitely Egyptian in origin.

One of the most significant and striking of the effects of this maritime intercourse with Egypt was the influence exerted by the latter in the matter of ship-building (see M, p. 77 ; and especially P, p. 52 *et seq.*, among many other references in the same work).

The fact that such distinctively Egyptian practices were spread abroad at the same time as, and in close association with, many others equally definitely Mediterranean in origin (such as the use of Tyrian purple and of the conch-shell trumpet in temple services [21]), is further corroboration of the fact that the Phoenicians, who are known to have adopted the same mixture of customs, were the distributors of so remarkable a cultural cargo.

This identification is further confirmed by the fact that additions were made to this curious repertoire from precisely those regions where the Phoenicians are known vigorously to have carried on their trafficking, such as many places in the Mediterranean, on the Red Sea littoral, Ethiopia, and Southern Arabia.

In this way alone can be explained how there came to be associated with the megalithic culture such practices as the Sudanese Negro custom of piercing and distending the ear-lobules, the Armenian (or Central Asiatic) procedure for artificial deformation of the head, the method of terraced cultivation, which was probably a Southern Arabian modification of Egyptian cultivation and irrigation on a level surface ; certain beliefs regarding the "heavenly twins" ; and perhaps such institutions as "men's houses" and secret societies, and the building of pile-dwell-

ings, and customs such as trephining, dental mutilations, and perforating the lips and nose, which were collected by the wanderers from a variety of scattered peoples in the Ancient East.

Mrs. Nuttall (9) has made a vast collection of other evidence relating mainly to astronomy, calendars, the methods of subdividing time, and questions of political and social organization, upon the basis of which she independently arrived at essentially the same conclusions as I have formulated, not only as regards the reality and the time of the great migration of culture, but also as to the identification of the Phoenicians as the people mainly responsible for its diffusion abroad. She failed to realize, however, that this easterly diffusion of knowledge and customs was merely incidental to commercial intercourse and a result of the trafficking.

In addition to all these considerations I should like once more to emphasize the fact that it was the study of the physical characteristics of the people scattered along the great megalithic track—and more especially those of Polynesia and the Eastern Mediterranean—that first led me to investigate these problems of the migrations of culture and its bearers to the Far East (13). For one cannot fail to be struck with the many features of resemblance between the ancient seamen who were mainly responsible for the earliest great maritime exploits in the Mediterranean and Erythrean seas and the Pacific Ocean respectively.

The remarkable evidence (12) brought forward at the recent meeting of the British Association by Mr. W. J. Perry seems to me finally to decide the question of the identity of the wanderers who distributed early Mediterranean culture in the East.

His investigations also explain the motives for the journeyings and the reasons why the western culture took root in some places and not in others.

Throughout the world the localized areas where the distinctive features of this characteristic civilization occur—and especially such elements as megalithic structures, terraced irrigation, sun-worship, and practices of mummification—are precisely those places where ancient mine-workings, and especially gold-mines, or pearl-fisheries, are also found, and where presumably Phœnician settlements were established to exploit these sources of wealth. "But not only is a general agreement found between the distributions of megalithic influence and

ancient mine-workings, but the technique of mining, smelting, and refining operations is identical in all places where the earliest remains have been found. . . . The form of the furnaces used ; the introduction of the blast over the mouth of the furnace ; the process of refining whereby the metal is first roughly smelted in an open furnace and afterwards refined in crucibles ; as well as the forms of the crucibles and the substances of which they were made, are the same in all places where traces of ancient smelting operations have been discovered. . . . The conclusion to which all these facts point is that the search for certain forms of material wealth led the carriers of the megalithic culture to those places where the things they desired were to be found (Perry [12]).

The distribution of pearl-shell explains how their course was directed along certain routes : the situations of ancient mines provide the reason for the settlement of the wanderers and the adoption of the whole of the megalithic culture-complex in definite localities.

From the consideration of all of these factors it is clear that the great easterly migration of megalithic culture was the outcome of the traffic carried on between the Eastern Mediterranean and India during the three or four centuries from about 800 B.C. onward, and that the Phœnicians were mainly responsible for these enterprises. The littoral populations of Egypt, Ethiopia, Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and India itself no doubt took a considerable part in this intercourse, for they all provided hardy mariners inured by long experience to such pursuits ; but for the reasons already suggested (their wider knowledge of the science and practice of seamanship) the Phœnicians seem to have directed and controlled these expeditions, even if they exploited the shores of the Mediterranean, Red Sea, Arabia, and farther East for skilled sailors to man their ships. That such recruits played a definite part in the Phœnician expeditions is shown by the transmission to the East of customs and practices found in localized areas of the coasts of the Mediterranean and Black Seas, and especially of Ethiopia, Arabia, and the Persian Gulf. It is probable that expert pearl-fishers were recruited on the shores of the Red Sea and gold-miners in Nubia and the Black Sea littoral.

The easterly migration of culture rolled like a great flood along the Asiatic littoral between the end of the eighth and the beginning of the fifth century B.C. ; and there can be no doubt that the leaven of

western culture was distributed to India, China, Japan, Indonesia, and possibly even further, mainly by that great wave. But for long ages before that time, no doubt a slow diffusion of culture had been taking place along the same coast-lines ; and ever since the first great stream brought the flood of western learning to the East a similar influence has been working along the same route, carrying to and fro new elements of cultural exchange between the East and West.

The "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea" (3) reveals to us how closely the old routes were being followed and the same kind of traffic was going on in the first century of the Christian era ; the exploits of other mariners, Egyptian, Greek, Arabic, Indian, and Chinese (4), show how continuously such intercourse was maintained right up to the time when Western European adventurers first intruded into the Indian Ocean. The spread of Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Islam are further illustrations of the way in which such migrations of new cults followed the old routes (compare [20]).

In the light of such knowledge it would be altogether unjustifiable to assume that the geographical distribution of similar customs and beliefs along this great highway of ancient commerce was due exclusively to the great wave of megalithic culture before the sixth century B.C. There is evidence of the most definite kind that many of the elements of western culture--such, for example, as Ptolemaic and Christian methods of embalming--were spread abroad at later times (M).

Nevertheless there is amply sufficient information to justify the conclusion that many of the fundamental conceptions of Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and American civilization were planted in their respective countries by the great cultural wave which set out from the African coast not long before the sixth century B.C.

One of the objections raised even by the most competent ethnologists against the adoption of this view is the assumption involved in such a hypothesis that one and the same wave carried to the East a jumble of practices ranging in dates from that of Predynastic Egypt to the seventh century B.C.--that at, or about, the same time the inspiration to build megalithic monuments fashioned on the models of the Pyramid Age and others imitating New Empire temples reached India.

But the difficulties created by this line of argument are largely

illusory, especially when it is recalled that the sailors manning the Phœnician ships were recruited from so many localities. It is known that even within a few miles of the Egyptian frontiers—Nubia, for instance—many customs and practices which disappeared in Egypt itself in the times of the New, Middle, or Old Empires, or even in Predynastic times, persist until the present day. The earliest Egyptian method of circumcision (which Dr. Rivers calls “incision”) disappeared in Egypt probably in the Pyramid Age, but it is still practised in East Africa; and no doubt it was the sailors recruited from that coast who were responsible for transmitting this practice to the East. When the first British settlement was made in America it introduced not only the civilization of the Elizabethan era, but also practices and customs that had been in vogue in England for many centuries; and no doubt every emigrant carried with him the traditions and beliefs that may have survived from very remote times in his own village. So the Phoenician expeditions spread abroad not only the Egyptian civilization of the seventh century B.C., but also the customs, beliefs, and practices of every sailor and passenger who travelled in their ships, whether he came from Syria, or the Ægean, from Egypt or Ethiopia, Arabia or the Persian Gulf. The fact that many extremely old Egyptian practices, which had been given up for centuries in Egypt itself, had survived elsewhere in the Mediterranean area and in Ethiopia explains how a mixture of Egyptian customs, distinctive of a great variety of different ages in Egypt itself, may have been distributed abroad at one and the same time by such mixed crews.

In her great monograph Mrs. Nuttall refers to “the great intellectual movement that swept at one time, like a wave, over the ancient centres of civilization”; and she quotes Huxley’s essay on “Evolution and Ethics” with reference to the growth of Ionian philosophy during “the eighth, seventh, and sixth centuries before our era” as “one of the many results of the stirring of the moral and intellectual life of the Aryan-Semitic population of Western Asia”; but Huxley was careful to add that “the Ionian intellectual movement is only one of the several sporadic indications of some powerful mental ferment over the whole of the area comprised between the Ægean and Northern Hindustan” (Nuttall [9], *op. cit.*, p. 526). She cites other evidence that points to the seventh century B.C. as about the time of

the extension of Mediterranean influence to India [and Indian influence to the west] through the intermediation of the Phoenicians.

It was not, however, merely to India that this diffusion extended, but also to China and Mexico. In the light of my own investigations I am inclined to re-echo the words of Mrs. Nuttall : "As far as I can judge, the great antiquity attributed, by Chinese historians, to the establishment of the governmental and cyclical schemes, still in use, appears extremely doubtful. Referring the question to Sinologists, I venture to ask whether it does not seem probable that the present Chinese scheme dates from the lifetime of Lao-tze, in the sixth century B.C., a period marked by the growth of Ionian philosophy, one feature of which was the invention of numerical schemes applied to 'divine politics' and ideal forms of government" (*op. cit.*, pp. 533 and 534).

To this I should like to add the query, whether there is any real evidence that the art of writing was known in China before that time ? The researches of Dr. Alan Gardiner (14) make it abundantly clear that the art of writing was invented in Egypt ; and further suggest that the idea must have spread from Egypt at an early date to Western Asia and the Mediterranean, where many diversely specialized kinds of script developed. Discussing the cultural connexion between India and the Persian Gulf "at the beginning of the seventh (and perhaps at the end of the eighth) century B.C.," my colleague Professor Rhys Davids adduces evidence in demonstration of the fact that the written scripts of India, Ceylon, and Burma were derived from that of "the pre-Semitic race now called Akkadians" ("Buddhist India," p. 116).

Dr. Schoff, however, in his remarkable commentary on the "Periplus of the Erythrean Sea," claims a Phoenician origin for the Dravidian alphabet (P., p. 229).

If then the knowledge of the art of writing reached India with the great wave of megalithic culture, it might be profitable to inquire whether the development of Chinese writing was really as ancient as most Sinologists assume it to be, or, on the other hand, may not its growth also have been stimulated by the same "great intellectual ferment" which is recognized as having brought about the new development in India ? There is, of course, the possibility that the knowledge of writing may have reached China overland even before it is known to have reached India (20).

Professor Rhys Davids also calls attention (*op. cit.*, pp. 238 and 239) to "the great and essential similarity" between the "details of the lower phases of religion in India in the sixth century B.C., with the beliefs held, not only at the same time in the other centres of civilization—in China, Persia, and Egypt, in Italy and Greece—but also among the savages of then and now"; with reference to "a further and more striking resemblance," he quotes Sir Henry Maine's observation that "Nothing is more remarkable than the extreme fewness of progressive societies—the difference between them and the stationary races is one of the greatest secrets inquiry has yet to penetrate" ("Ancient Law," p. 22).

But is it not patent that what we who have been brought up in the atmosphere of modern civilization call "progress," is the striving after an artificial state of affairs, like all the arts and crafts of civilization itself, created by a special set of circumstances in one spot, the Ancient East? There is no inborn impulse to impel other people to become "progressive societies" in our acceptation of that term: in the past history of the world these other communities only began to "progress" when they had been inoculated with the germs of this artificial civilization by contact with the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean area.

My colleague does not view the problem in this light. For him it is the most "stupendous marvel in the whole history of mankind" that the four great civilizations which grew up in the river basins of the Nile and the Euphrates, the Ganges and the Yellow River—through real and progressive civilizations, whose ideas and customs were no doubt constantly changing and growing—maintained merely "a certain dead level, if not a complete absence of what we should call philosophic thought," and "did not build up any large and general views, either of ethics, or of philosophy, or of religion"; but then "suddenly, and almost simultaneously, and almost certainly independently, there is evidence, about the sixth century B.C., in each of these widely separated centres of civilization, of a leap forward in speculative thought, of a new birth in ethics, of a religion of conscience threatening to take the place of the old religion of custom and magic".

But Professor Rhys Davids' opinion that this profound transformation occurred "almost certainly independently" is hard to reconcile with the fact, which he clearly explained earlier in the same book,

that for more than a century before the time of this "stupendous marvel" India had been in touch with the older civilizations of the West (pp. 70 and 113 *et seq.*). All of the difficulties of this, the most "suggestive problem awaiting the solution of the historian of human thought" (p. 239), disappear once the extent of this cultural contact with the West is fully realized.

The evidence to which I have called attention here, and elsewhere (M), makes it appear unlikely that these momentous events in the history of civilization were independent one of the other; to me it seems to prove definitely and most conclusively that they were parts of one connected movement. The "powerful ferment" of which Huxley speaks was due to the action upon the uncultured population of India (and in turn also those of China, Japan, and America) of the new knowledge brought from the Eastern Mediterranean by the Phœnician mariners, or the passengers who travelled with them in their trading expeditions.

To quote Mrs. Nuttall again: "Just as the older Andean art closely resembles that of the early Mediterranean, an observation made by Professor F. W. Putnam (1899), so the fundamental principles, numerical scheme, and plan of the state founded by the foreign Incas in Peru, resembled those formulated by Plato in his description of an ideal state" ([9], pp. 545-6). As one of the results of their intimate intercourse with Egypt the Phœnicians had adopted many of the Egyptian customs and beliefs, as well as becoming proficient in its arts and crafts. Perhaps also they recruited some of their seamen from the Egyptians who had been accustomed for long ages to maritime pursuits. In this way it may have come to pass that, when the Phœnicians embarked on their great over-sea expeditions, they became the distributors of Egyptian practices. They did not, of course, spread abroad Egyptian culture in its purest form: for as middlemen they selected for adoption, consciously as well as unconsciously, certain of its constituent elements and left others. Moreover, they had customs of their own and practices which they had borrowed from the whole Eastern Mediterranean world as well as from Mesopotamia.

The first stage of the oriental extension of their trafficking (15) was concerned with the Red Sea and immediately beyond the Straits of the Bab-el-Mandeb. [In his scholarly commentary on "The Peri-

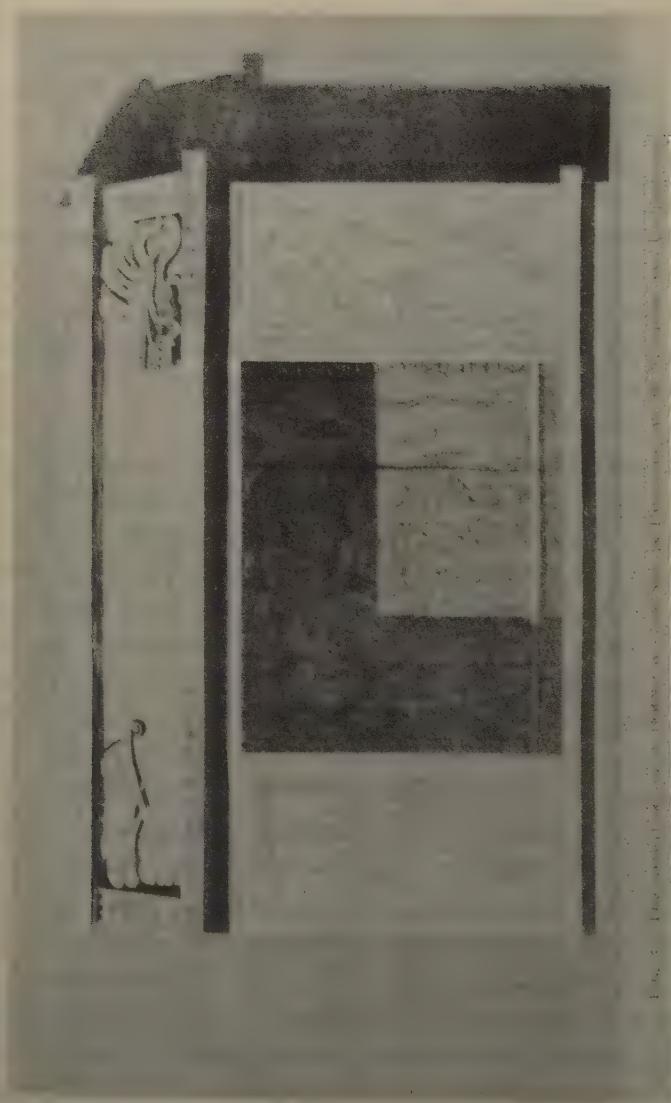
plus of the Erythrean Sea," Dr. Schoff gives, in a series of explanatory notes, a most illuminating summary of the literature relating to all these early trading expeditions. The reader who questions my remarks on these matters should consult his lucid digest of an immense mass of historical documents.] In the course of their trading in these regions the travellers freely adopted the practices of the inhabitants of the Ethiopian coast and southern Arabia—customs which in many cases had been derived originally from Egypt and had slowly percolated up the Nile, and eventually, with many modifications and additions, reached the region of the Somali coast. Whether this adoption of Ethiopian customs was the result merely of intercourse with the natives in the Sabaean and East African ports, or was to be attributed to the actual recruiting of seamen for the oriental expeditions from these regions, there is no evidence to permit us to say : but judging from the analogies of what is known to have happened elsewhere, it is practically certain that the latter suggestion alone affords an adequate explanation of the potent influence exerted by these Ethiopian practices in the Far East. For such a complete transference of customs and beliefs from one country to another can occur only when the people who practise them migrate from their homeland and settle in the new country. It is, of course, well recognized that from the eighth century onward, if not before then, there has been some intercourse between East Africa and India, and the whole of the intervening littoral of Southern Asia (see Schoff's commentaries on the *Periplus*).

For reasons that I have explained elsewhere (5) it is probable that, even as early as the time of the First Egyptian Dynasty maritime intercourse was already taking place along the whole Arabian coast, and even linking up in cultural contact the nascent civilizations developing in the Nile Valley and near the head of the Persian Gulf. No doubt the following twenty-five centuries witnessed a gradual development and oriental extension of this littoral intercommunication : but from the eighth century onward the current flowed more strongly and in immeasurably greater volume. The western coast of India was subjected to the full force of a cultural stream in which the influences of Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean world, Ethiopia, Arabia, and Babylonia were blended by the Phoenicians, who no doubt were mainly responsible for controlling and directing the current for their own pecuniary benefit (see especially 12 ; and M, p. 77 *et seq.*).

This easterly stream, as I have already explained above, was responsible for originating in India and Ceylon, at about the same time, temples of New Empire Egyptian type, dolmens which represent the Old Empire type, rounded tumuli which might be regarded as Mycenean, and seven-stepped stone Pyramids as Chaldean, modifications of Egyptian Pyramids ; and if the monuments farther east are taken into consideration, the blended influences of Egypt, Babylonia, and India become even more definitely manifested. In studying the oriental spread of Egyptian ideas and practices it must constantly be borne in mind that it was the rare exception rather than the rule for the influence of such things to be exerted directly, as for example when Cyrus definitely adopted Egyptian funerary customs and methods of tomb-construction (M, p. 67). His successors even employed Egyptian craftsmen to carry out the work. In most cases an alien people, the Phoenicians, were responsible for transmitting these customs to India and the Further East, and not only did they modify them themselves, but in addition they, or the crews of their ships, carried to the East the influence of Egyptian practices which had been adopted by various other alien peoples and had suffered more or less transformation. In this way alone is it possible to explain how large a part was played in this easterly migration of culture by the customs of Ethiopia. For many centuries the effects of Egyptian civilization had been slowly percolating up the Nile amongst a variety of people, and ultimately, with many additions and modifications, made themselves apparent among the littoral population of East Africa. Such Ethiopian transformations of Egyptian ideas and customs form a very obtrusive element in the cultural wave which flowed to India, Indonesia, and Oceania (M).

It is instructive to compare the outstanding features of tomb and temple-construction in Egypt with those of the Asiatic and American civilization. In Egypt it is possible to study the gradual evolution of the temple and to realize in some measure the circumstances and ideas which prompted the development and the accentuation of certain features at the expense of others (2).

For example, the conception of the door of a tomb or temple as symbolizing the means of communication between the living and the dead was apparent even in Protodynastic times, and gradually became so insistent that by the time of the New Empire the Egyptian temple has been converted into a series of monstrously overgrown gateways or



pylons, which dwarfed all the other features into insignificance. The same feature revealed itself in the Dravidian temples of Southern India ; and the obtrusive gateways of Further Asiatic temples, no less than the symbolic wooden structures found in China and Japan (*Torii*), are certainly manifestations of the same conception.

Among less cultured people, such as the Fijians, who were unable to reproduce this feature of the Egyptian and Indian temples, the general plan, without the great pylons or gopurams, was imitated (16). The Fijians have a tradition that the people who built these great stone enclosures came across the sea from the West (M, p. 29).

Other features of the Egyptian temples of the New Empire period, which were widely adopted in other lands, were the placing of colossal statues alongside the doorway, as in the Ramesseum at Thebes, the construction of a causeway leading up to the temple, flanked with stones, carved or uncarved, such as the avenue of sphinxes at Karnak, and the excavation of elaborate rock-cut temples such as that at Abu-Simbel. In the temples of India, Cambodia, China, and America such features repeatedly occur ([17], p. 153).

A whole volume might be written on the evidence supplied by Oriental and American Pyramids of the precise way in which the influences of Egypt, Babylonia, and the *Æ*gean were blended in these monuments.

In the Far East and America the Chaldean custom obtained of erecting the temple upon the summit of a truncated Pyramid. In Palenque and Chiapas, as well as elsewhere in the Isthmus region of America, many temples are found thus perched upon the tops of Pyramids. In design they are essentially Egyptian, not only as regards their plan, but also in the details of their decoration, from the winged disc upon the lintel (Figs. 3 and 5), to the reliefs within the sanctuary (23). For in the Palenque temples are depicted scenes (such as the one shown in Fig. 7) strictly comparable to those found in the New Empire Theban temples (compare, for example, Fig. 7 with the relief from temple of Seti I at Abydos, Fig. 6).

I need not enter into the discussion of mummification and the very precise evidence it affords of the easterly spread of Egyptian influence, for I have devoted a special memoir (M) to the consideration of its significance. I should like to make it plain, however, that it was the data afforded by the technique of the earliest method of embalming

that is known to have been adopted in the Far East which led me to assign the age of the commencement of its migration to a time probably not earlier than the eighth century B.C. ; and that this conclusion was reached long before I was aware of all the other evidence of most varied nature (mentioned in the writings of Vincent Smith [17], Rhys-Davids, Crooke, Nuttall, Oldham, and many others) which points to the same general conclusion. As several different methods of embalming, Late New Empire, Graeco-Roman, and Coptic, are known to have reached India it is quite clear that at least three distinct cultural waves proceeded to the East : but the first, which planted the germs of the new culture on the practically virgin soil of the untutored East, exerted an infinitely profounder influence than all that came after.

In fact most of the obtrusive elements of the megalithic culture, with its strange jumble of associated practices, beliefs, and traditions, certainly travelled in the first great wave, somewhere about the time of, perhaps a little earlier or later than, the seventh century B.C.

Although in this lecture I am primarily concerned with the demonstration of the influence exerted, directly or indirectly, by Egyptian culture in the East, it is important to obtain confirmation from other evidence of the date which the former led me to assign to the great migration. I have already referred to the facts cited by Mrs. Nuttall in proof of her contention that Ionian ideas spread East and ultimately reached America. Since her great monograph was written she has given an even more precise and convincing proof of the influence of the Phoenician world on America by describing how the use of Tyrian purple extended as far as Mexico in Pre-Columbian times (18). The associated use of conch-shell trumpets and pearls is peculiarly instructive : the geographical distribution of the former enables one to chart the route taken by this spread of culture, while the latter (the pearl-fisheries) supply one of the motives which attracted the wanderers and led them on until eventually they reached the New World.

Professor Bosanquet has adduced evidence suggesting that Pur-pura was first used by the Minoans : in Crete also the conch-shell trumpet was employed in the temple services. No doubt the Phœnicians acquired these customs from the Mycenean peoples.

In his monograph (19) on "The Sacred Chank of India" (1914) Mr. James Hornell has filled in an important gap in the chain of dis-

tribution given by Mrs. Nuttall. He has not only confirmed her opinion as to the close association of the conch-shell trumpet and pearls, but also has shown what an important role these shells have played in India from Dravidian times onward. His evidence is doubly welcome, not only because it links up the use of the Chank with so many elements of the megalithic culture and of the temple ritual in India, but also because it affords additional confirmation of the date which I have assigned for the introduction of the former into India (see M, especially pp. 117 *et seq.*).

In India these new elements of culture took deep root and developed into the luxurious growth of so-called Dravidian civilization, which played a great part in shaping the customs and practices of the later Brahmanical and Buddhist cults. From India a series of migrations carried the megalithic customs and beliefs, and their distinctively Indian developments, farther east to Burma, Indonesia, China, and Japan ; and, with many additions from these countries, streams of wanderers for many centuries carried them out into the islands of the Pacific and eventually to the shores of America, where there grew up a highly organized but exotic civilization compounded of the elements of the Old World's ancient culture, the most outstanding and distinctive ingredients of which came originally from Ancient Egypt.

I do not possess the special knowledge to estimate the reliability of M. Terrien de Lacouperie's remarkable views on the origin of Chinese civilization (20), some of which seem to be highly speculative. But there is a sufficient mass of precise information, based upon the writings of creditable authorities, to discount in large measure the wholesale condemnation of his opinions in recent years. Whatever justification, or lack of it, there may be for his statements as to the early overland connection between Mesopotamia and China, his views concerning the later maritime intercourse between the Red Sea, Persian Gulf, India and Indo-China, and China are in remarkable accordance with the opinions which, in the absence of any previous acquaintance with his writings, I have set forth here, not only as regards the nature of the migration and the sources of the elements of culture, but also the date of its arrival in the far east and the motives which induced traders to go there.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Asiatic civilization reached

America partly by way of Polynesia, as well as directly from Japan, and also by the Aleutian route.

The immensely formidable task of spanning the broad Pacific to reach the coasts of America presents no difficulty to the student of early migrations. "The islands of the Pacific were practically all inhabited long before Tasman and Cook made their appearance in Pacific waters. Intrepid navigators had sailed their canoes north and south, east and west, until their language and their customs had been carried into every corner of the ocean. These Polynesian sailors had extended their voyages from Hawaii in the North to the fringe of the ice-fields in the Far South, and from the coast of South America on the East to the Philippine Islands on the West. No voyage seems to have been too extended for them, no peril too great for them to brave."

Mr. Elsdon Best, from whose writings (21) I have taken the above quotation, answers the common objection that the frailness of the early canoes was incompatible with such journeys. "As a matter of fact the sea-going canoe of the ancient Maori was by no means frail : it was a much stronger vessel than the eighteen-foot boat in which Bligh and his companions navigated 3600 miles of the Pacific after the mutiny of the 'Bounty'."

Thirty generations ago Toi, when leaving Raratonga to seek the islands of New Zealand, said, "I will range the wide seas until I reach the land-head at Aotearoa, the moisture-laden land discovered by Kupe, or be engulfed for ever in the depths of Hine-moana".

It was in this spirit that the broad Pacific was bridged and the civilization of the Old World carried to America.

When one considers the enormous extent of the journey, and the multitude and variety of the vicissitudes encountered upon the way, it is a most remarkable circumstance that practically the whole of the complex structure of the megalithic culture should have reached the shores of America. Hardly any of the items in the large series of customs and beliefs enumerated at the commencement of this lecture failed to get to America in pre-Columbian times. The practice of mummification, with modifications due to Polynesian and other oriental influences ; the characteristically Egyptian elements of its associated ritual, such as the use of incense and libations ; and beliefs concerning the soul's wanderings in the underworld, where it under-

goes the same vicissitudes as it was supposed to encounter in Pharaonic times [New Empire]—all were found in Mexico and elsewhere in America, with a multitude of corroborative detail to indicate the influence exerted by Ethiopia, Babylonia, India, Indonesia, China, Japan, and Oceania, during the progress of their oriental migration. The general conception, no less than the details of their construction and the associated beliefs, make it equally certain that the megalithic monuments of America were inspired by those of the ancient East; and while the influences which are most obtrusively displayed in them are clearly Egyptian and Babylonian, the effects of the accretions from the Ægean, India, Cambodia, and Eastern Asia are equally unmistakable. The use of idols and stone seats (22), beliefs in the possibility of men or animals dwelling in stones, and the complementary supposition that men and animals may become petrified, the story of the deluge, of the divine origin of kings, who are regarded as the children of the sun or the sky, and the incestuous origin of the chosen people—the whole of this complexly interwoven series of characteristically Egypto-Babylonian practices and beliefs reappeared in America in pre-Columbian times, as also did the worship of the sun and the beliefs regarding serpents, including a great part of the remarkably complex and wholly artificial symbolism associated with this sun and serpent-worship. Circumcision, tattooing, piercing and distending the earlobules, artificial deformation of the head, trephining, weaving linen, the use of Tyrian purple, conch-shell trumpets, a special appreciation of pearls, precious stones, and metals, certain definite methods of mining and extraction of metals, terraced irrigation, the use of the swastika-symbol, beliefs regarding thunder-bolts and thunder-teeth, certain phallic practices, the boomerang, the beliefs regarding the “heavenly twins,” the practice of couvade, the custom of building special “men’s houses” and the institution of secret societies, the art of writing, certain astronomical ideas, and entirely arbitrary notions concerning a calendrical system, the subdivisions of time, and the constitution of the state—all of these and many other features of pre-Columbian civilization are each and all distinctive tokens of influence of the culture of the Old World upon that of the New. Not the least striking demonstration of this borrowing from the old world is afforded by games (M, p. 12, *footnote*).

When in addition it is considered that most, if not all, of this

variegated assortment of customs and beliefs are linked one to the other in a definite and artificial system, which agrees with that which is known to have grown up somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Eastern Mediterranean, there can no longer be any reasonable doubt as to the derivation of the early American civilization from the latter source.

All the stories of culture-heroes which the natives tell corroborate the inference which I have drawn from ethnological data.

When to this positive demonstration is added the evidence of the exact relationship of the localities where this exotic Old World culture took root in America to the occurrence of pearl-shell and precious metals, the proof is clinched by these unmistakable tokens that the same Phœnician methods which led to the diffusion of this culture-complex in the Old World also were responsible for planting it in the New (Perry [12]) some centuries after the Phœnicians themselves had ceased to be.

In these remarks I have been dealing primarily with the influence of Ancient Egyptian civilization ; but in concentrating attention upon this one source of American culture it must not be supposed that I am attempting to minimize the extent of the contributions from Asia. From India America took over the major part of her remarkable pantheon, including practically the whole of the beliefs associated with the worship of Indra (24).

NOTES.

(1) In the strict sense, the statement set forth here is not a report of the lecture delivered at the Rylands Library, although it deals with essentially the same body of facts and expounds the same inferences. The lecture was an ocular demonstration of the facts to which I am endeavouring to give literary expression here. By means of a large series of photographic projections of tombs, temples, and other objects scattered broadcast in Egypt, Asia, and America, together with maps to illustrate the geographical distribution of particular features, the attempt was made to appeal directly to the common sense of the audience in support of the proposition that the fundamental constituents of all civilizations spread from one centre. In setting forth the argument here I have in mind a different audience and am making use of a good deal of evidence to which no reference was made in my lecture. Much of it, in fact, has come to my knowledge since the lecture was delivered.

In collecting the material for the purposes of my discourse at the Rylands Library I found that it was impossible to tell the whole story in one hour. The evidence derived from the study of tombs and temples in the different countries was therefore communicated to the Manchester Egyptian and Oriental Society, and has been published in the form of an abstract ("Oriental Tombs and Temples") in that Society's "Journal". The vast collection of data relating to the practice of mummification, and the customs and ideas associated with it, was presented to the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society and published in their "Memoirs". It has since been issued in book form by the Manchester University Press under the title, "The Migrations of Early Culture". As I shall have occasion in the present discourse repeatedly to make use of the statements of fact, and especially the bibliographical references contained in that memoir, it will save trouble if I adopt the letter "M" as a form of brief reference to it.

In the Rylands lecture I made use of the general results set forth in the other two discourses and, with the addition of new evidence, dealt with the broader aspects of the problem.

(2) The former lectures have not been published as such, but most of the materials employed will be found in my book "The Ancient Egyptians," 1911; my contributions to the British Association Reports for 1911-15 (see "Man," 1911, p. 176; 1912, p. 173; 1913, p. 193), and the article on "The Evolution of the Rock-cut Tomb and Dolmen," published in the Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway, Cambridge, 1913, p. 493. The general statement with which the present discourse begins is the abstract of the address which I delivered at the recent meeting of the British Association in opening the discussion on

"the Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization on the World's Culture".

(3) "The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea: Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century": Translated from the Greek and annotated by Wilfred H. Schoff, Longmans, Green & Co., 1912.

This scholarly work is so packed with historical facts and critical digests of a vast mass of literature relating to early maritime expeditions and other matters intimately related to the subject of my lecture that I shall have to refer to it repeatedly. It will save constant repetition of the title if I adopt the letter "P" as a concise form of reference to it.

(4) Chau-lu-kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, Translated from the Chinese and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, 1911.

(5) "The Ancient Egyptians," *op. cit. supra*, p. 143.

(6) As the study of the geographical distribution of mummification originally formed the foundation of my argument it is important to note in this connexion that these earliest maritime expeditions were largely inspired by the desire to obtain the aromatic materials and wood for the purposes of embalming, preparing incense, and making coffins.

(7) The readiness of the Phoenicians to accept the beliefs and practices of all these ancient civilizations was no doubt due, in part, to the fact that at different times Phoenicia formed part of the dominions of each of the ancient empires in turn, so that its inhabitants naturally came into possession of a composite culture and grew accustomed to a free trade in the arts of civilization as well as in merchandise.

(8) In this discourse I have used the phrase "Ancient East" in the sense defined by Mr. Hogarth in his book with that title.

(9) Zelia Nuttall, "The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations: a comparative research based on a study of the Ancient Mexican Religious, Sociological, and Calendrical Systems," "Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University," Vol. II, March, 1901.

A large part of Mrs. Nuttall's great treatise is devoted to the consideration of this astronomical knowledge and its influence of its acquisition upon the history of civilization, and especially the phase of it with which I am concerned here. The initial part of her argument credits primitive mankind with powers of observation and scientific inference which I cannot believe: but even if her speculations concerning the origin of the swastika be put aside as incredible, it cannot be denied that she has brought forward a sufficiently imposing collection of unquestionable data to demonstrate the important part played by a knowledge of the stars as an aid to navigation by the Phoenicians, and also by all the peoples whom both she and I suppose to have derived their knowledge of seamanship from them.

(10) Siret, "Les Cassitérides et l'Empire Colonial des Phéniciens," "L'Anthropologie," 1908, p. 129; 1909, pp. 129 and 283; and 1910, p. 281.

(11) Dahse, "Ein Zweites Goldland Salomos," "Zeitsch. f. Ethn.," 1911, p. 1.

(12) W. J. Perry's contribution to the discussion on "The Influence of Ancient Egyptian Civilization on the World's Culture," at the Manchester meeting of the British Association, 1915, since published in the Proceedings of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society under the title "The Geographical Distribution of Megalithic Monuments and Ancient Mines".

Although I am wholly responsible for the form of this (Rylands) address, a great deal of the information made use of was collected by Mr. Perry, and most of the rest emerged in the course of repeated conversations with him.

(13) See "The Ancient Egyptians," p. 61; also my article on "The Influence of Racial Admixture in Egypt," the "Eugenics Review," Oct., 1915.

(14) Alan H. Gardiner, "The Nature and Development of the Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Writing," "Journal of Egyptian Archaeology," Volume II, Part II, April, 1915: also "Fresh Light upon the Origin of the Semitic Alphabet," a communication made at the British Association meeting at Manchester, September, 1915. In the latter Dr. Gardiner gave an account of a newly discovered method of writing from Sinai which is certainly earlier than 1500 B.C.: it is a proto-Semitic script inspired by the Egyptian method of writing and it makes it no longer possible to doubt that Phoenician, Greek, and Sabaean letters, no less than Minoan, were borrowed from, or modelled upon, the Egyptian hieroglyphic system of writing.

(15) The views which I am setting forth here are, as a matter of fact, substantiated by linking together the evidence collected in a large series of scattered areas by leading scholars. It is a commonplace of scientific inquiry that the man who devotes himself with the greatest concentration of mind to the investigation of some isolated or localized subject of research may be blind to the precise relation of his work to wider problems. He may become so obsessed by the difficulties which he encounters as to fail to realize the progress of the whole campaign. During the last few months it must have been the experience of all of us stay-at-home people to find that, without possessing any expert military knowledge, the scraps of news which come to us from all sides have made us more fully acquainted with the progress of the war than many of the soldiers who are actually participating in the fighting in some one spot. So the untrained on-looker in the ethnologists' great battle may see most of the fight and see it more clearly than many of those whose attention is riveted on their own special difficulties.

(16) Lorimer Fison, "The Nanga, or Sacred Stone Enclosure, of Wainimala, Fiji," "The Journal of the Anthropological Institute," Vol. XIV, 1885, p. 14.

(17) "The Imperial Gazetteer of India, the Indian Empire," Vol. II, Historical, New Edition, 1903.

(18) Zelia Nuttall, "A Curious Survival in Mexico of the Purpura Shell-fish for Dyeing," Putnam Anniversary Volume, 1909.

(19) James Hornell, "The Sacred Chank of India," Madras, Government Press, 1914.

(20) Terrien de Lacouperie, "Western Origin of the Early Chinese Civilization," 1894, Asher & Co., London.

(21) Report of a lecture delivered by Mr. Elsdon Best to the Wellington Philosophical Society in New Zealand, July, 1915.

(22) The peculiar custom of providing stone seats in tombs or for councils of special solemnity (in association with burial places) which probably developed out of certain Egyptian conceptions ([M], p. 43), is seen in its most typical form in a tomb of the First Late Minoan period excavated at Isopata by Sir Arthur Evans in 1910, as well as in Etruscan sites. Mr. Perry has shown that this custom also occurs in precisely those places (beyond the limits of the Ancient East) where the megalithic culture is seen in its fully developed form—for example, in India only in those localities where megalithic monuments occur, as also in the selected spots in Indonesia and Oceania. But the practice attained its greatest development in Ecuador, where enormous numbers of such seats, many of them curiously suggestive of Old World design, have been found (see Saville's "Antiquities of Manati, Ecuador," Preliminary Report, 1907, pp. 23 *et seq.*, and Final Report, 1910, pp. 88 *et seq.*).

The use of conch-shell trumpets in certain temple services, which also is to be referred to Minoan times in Crete, has been recorded in India, Oceania, and America; and in itself is a very clear demonstration of the transference of a peculiar custom from the Mediterranean to America.

(23) The winged disc with a pair of serpents (Fig. 1) is the commonest and most distinctive symbol of the Ancient Egyptian religion, and is constantly found carved upon the lintels of the great doors of the temples. It appeared in a great variety of forms in Egypt and was widely adopted and distributed abroad, especially by the Phoenicians (see Count d'Alviella, "The Migration of Symbols," 1894, p. 204 *et seq.*). It is found in Palestine ("The Sun of righteousness with healing in his wings," Malachi IV. 2), Asia Minor, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, as well as in Carthage, Cyprus, Sardinia, and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. In modified forms it occurs in India and the Far East, and ultimately it reappears in America in a practically complete form (Figs. 3 and 4) and in precisely homologous situations, upon the lintels of doors in sun-temples (Fig. 5). But the curious feature of these American winged discs is that they are invariably reversed; and the body of the serpent, which even in the Egyptian models is often conventionalized into a lattice-like pattern, is now replaced by a geometrical design (Fig. 3). This only becomes intelligible when it is compared with the (reversed) Egyptian original. In most instances (as, for example, Fig. 4) the design is still further modified in a characteristically American manner: but if one disregards the ornate embellishments, the distinctive features of the severer Egyptian-like pattern of Fig. 3 leave no doubt as to the homologies. The face of the god takes the place of the sun's disc, as so often happens in the Old World varieties (compare Fig. 2, and especially William Hayes Ward's monograph, "The Seal Cylinders of West Asia," Carnegie Institute, Washington, 1910, pp. 211-252 and 395-6; and the series of treatises on the History of Art by Perrot and Chipiez). Spinden ["A Study of Maya Art," Cambridge (Mass.), 1913, p. 196] states that

the "Serpent Bird" and not the disc is represented at Ococingo (Fig. 3): but this is by no means fatal, as he imagines, to the views set forth here. That this "Serpent Bird" or "Feathered Snake" occurs in temples of the Sun completes the proof of the identity with its Egyptian prototype.

In fact all the associations of these winged discs in Mexico and Central America—the Egyptian-like temples, perched upon the tops of Pyramids; the sanctuaries (Fig. 5) embellished with designs (Fig. 7) essentially identical with those found in analogous Egyptian temples (Fig. 6); and the nature of the gods worshipped, and their various attributes—are eloquent of the source of their inspiration in the Old World. These temples with their embellishments in fact afford a remarkable demonstration of the blended influences of Egypt, Babylonia, India and China, with those of America.

Incidentally they supply the most striking corroboration of the views set forth by Dr. Rivers ("'Conventionalism' in Primitive Art," Report Brit. Association, 1912, p. 599) that the transformation of a naturalistic into a geometrical design is not usually due to simplification, but to a blending of different cultural influences. The American development of the winged disc, for example, is essentially geometrical, but enormously more complicated and richly embellished than the original.

(24) "Pre-Columbian Representations of the Elephant in America," "Nature," December 16, 1915.

CLASSIFIED LIST OF RECENT ACCESSIONS TO THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY.

The classification of the items in this list is in accordance with the main divisions of the "Dewey Decimal System," and in the interest of those readers, who may not be familiar with the system, it may be advisable briefly to point out the advantages claimed for this method of arrangement.

The principal advantage of a classified catalogue, as distinguished from an alphabetical one, is that it preserves the unity of the subject, and by so doing enables a student to follow its various ramifications with ease and certainty. Related matter is thus brought together, and the reader turns to one sub-division and round it he finds grouped others which are intimately connected with it. In this way new lines of research are often suggested.

One of the great merits of the system employed is that it is easily capable of comprehension by persons previously unacquainted with it. Its distinctive feature is the employment of the ten digits, in their ordinary significance, to the exclusion of all other symbols—hence the name, decimal system.

The sum of human knowledge and activity has been divided by Dr. Dewey into ten main classes—0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. These ten classes are each separated in a similar manner, thus making 100 divisions. An extension of the process provides 1000 sections, which can be still further sub-divided in accordance with the nature and requirements of the subject. Places for new subjects may be provided at any point of the scheme by the introduction of new decimal points. For the purpose of this list we have not thought it necessary to carry the classification beyond the hundred main divisions, the arrangement of which will be found in the "Order of Classification" which follows :—

ORDER OF CLASSIFICATION.

000 General Works.

- 010 BIBLIOGRAPHY.
 020 LIBRARY ECONOMY.
 030 GENERAL CYCLOPEDIAS.
 040 GENERAL COLLECTIONS.
 050 GENERAL PERIODICALS.
 060 GENERAL SOCIETIES.
 070 NEWSPAPERS.
 080 SPECIAL LIBRARIES. POLYGRAPHY.
 090 BOOK RARITIES.

100 Philosophy.

- 110 METAPHYSICS.
 120 SPECIAL METAPHYSICAL TOPICS.
 130 MIND AND BODY.
 140 PHILOSOPHICAL SYSTEMS.
 150 MENTAL FACULTIES. PSYCHOLOGY.
 160 LOGIC.
 170 ETHICS.
 180 ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS.
 190 MODERN PHILOSOPHERS.

200 Religion.

- 210 NATURAL THEOLOGY.
 220 BIBLE.
 230 DOCTRINAL THEOL. DOGMATICS.
 240 DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL.
 250 HOMILETIC. PASTORAL. PAROCHIAL.
 260 CHURCH. INSTITUTIONS. WORK.
 270 RELIGIOUS HISTORY.
 280 CHRISTIAN CHURCHES AND SECTS.
 290 NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGIONS.

300 Sociology.

- 310 STATISTICS.
 320 POLITICAL SCIENCE.
 330 POLITICAL ECONOMY.
 340 LAW.
 350 ADMINISTRATION.
 360 ASSOCIATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS.
 370 EDUCATION.
 380 COMMERCE AND COMMUNICATION.
 390 CUSTOMS. COSTUMES. FOLK-LORE.

400 Philology.

- 410 COMPARATIVE.
 420 ENGLISH.
 430 GERMAN.
 440 FRENCH.
 450 ITALIAN.
 460 SPANISH.
 470 LATIN.
 480 GREEK.
 490 MINOR LANGUAGES.

500 Natural Science.

- 510 MATHEMATICS.
 520 ASTRONOMY.
 530 PHYSICS.
 540 CHEMISTRY.
 550 GEOLOGY.
 560 PALEONTOLOGY.
 570 BIOLOGY.
 580 BOTANY.
 590 ZOOLOGY.

600 Useful Arts.

- 610 MEDICINE.
 620 ENGINEERING.
 630 AGRICULTURE.
 640 DOMESTIC ECONOMY.
 650 COMMUNICATION AND COMMERCE.
 660 CHEMICAL TECHNOLOGY.
 670 MANUFACTURES.
 680 MECHANIC TRADES.
 690 BUILDING.

700 Fine Arts.

- 710 LANDSCAPE GARDENING.
 720 ARCHITECTURE.
 730 SCULPTURE.
 740 DRAWING, DESIGN, DECORATION.
 750 PAINTING.
 760 ENGRAVING.
 770 PHOTOGRAPHY.
 780 MUSIC.
 790 AMUSEMENTS.

800 Literature.

- 810 AMERICAN.
 820 ENGLISH.
 830 GERMAN.
 840 FRENCH.
 850 ITALIAN.
 860 SPANISH.
 870 LATIN.
 880 GREEK.
 890 MINOR LANGUAGES.

900 History.

- 910 GEOGRAPHY AND DESCRIPTION.
 920 BIOGRAPHY.
 930 ANCIENT HISTORY.
 940 EUROPE.
 950 ASIA.
 960 AFRICA.
 970 Modern. NORTH AMERICA.
 980 SOUTH AMERICA.
 990 OCEANICA AND POLAR REGIONS.

010 BIBLIOGRAPHY : GENERAL.

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* * In this copy the termination ae of Serenissimae has been corrected to i by pasting a slip over it.

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* * Title within woodcut border. Gothic letter.

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* * * There is also an engraved title page.

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BIBLE: LATIN.—Biblia cū concordantijs veteris z noui testamenti et sacrorum canonum: necnon z additionibus in marginibus varietatis diuersorum textuum: ac etiam canonibus antiquis quattuor euangeliorum. Nouissime autem addite sunt concordatiæ ex viginti libris Josephi de antiquitatibus z bello iudaico excerpte. [Printer's device beneath title.]—[Sig. R 5 verso, colophon :] . . . Accedūt ad hec ex viginti de antiquitatibus z indeorū bello Josephi libris exhauste autoritates: quas . . . Ioānes de gradib⁹ cōcordantibus cōgruisq; apposuit locis. Impressa aut̄ Lugduni: per M. Jacobum Sacon. Expēsis . . . Antonii Koberger Nureburgensis. Feliciter explicit. Anno nostre salutis. 1521. Nouo Cal. Augusti. que est. 24. Julij.—[Sig. AA 1 recto :] Interpretationes nominū hebraicorū. [With woodcuts.] <Lyons: J. Sacon, 1521.> Fol. pp. [14], CCCXVII, [26]. R 37527

* * * Title within border of woodcut blocks.

— ¶ Biblia sacra: integrū vtriusq; testamenti corpus cōpleteſ: diligenter recognita z emēdata. Cū concordatijs ac summarij simul et argumētis: ad toti⁹ intelligentiā biblie nō parū cōducētib⁹. Insup in calce eiusdē: annexe sunt nominū Hebraicorū / Chaldeorum atq; Grecorum accurate interpretationes. [Printer's device beneath title.] [With woodcut.] ([Colophon :] Parisiis, ex officina libraria yolande bonhomme, vidue spectabilis viri Thielmanni Keruer, sub signo vnicornis in vico sancti iacobi, vbi et venundatur. M.D. xxxiij. Octauo idus Januarij.) 8vo. R 37523

* * * Imperfect, wanting N.T. and several leaves of O.T. Colophon supplied from Bible Society Catalogue. Title within border of woodcut blocks.

— Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatā quam Dicvnt Editionem, A Mendis Qvibus innumeris partim scribarum incuria, partim sciolorum audaciat scatebat, summa cura parique fide repurgata atque ad priscorum probatissimorumque exemplariorum normam, adhibita interdum fontium autoritate, Ioannis Benedicti Parisiensis theologi industria restituta, Annorumque a mundo creato ad Christum vsque natum supputatione illustrata. Adiecta est in fine Hebraicarum, Græcarum, cæterarumque

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220 BIBLE : TEXTS AND VERSIONS.

peregrinarum vocum cum illarum varia a nostra prolatione interpretatio. Quin & sententiarum insignium copiosum iuxta ac accurate collectum indicem suppegimus. Duo postremo indices etiamnum accessere, quorum prior quæ in scholiis notatu dignissima occurrere, alter vero insignium locorum nomina colligit. Quæ legenti signa passim occurrent, epistola nuncupatoria 2. pag. manifestabit. Secunda editio. *Parisiis Prostant apud Carolam Guillard, & Gulielynum Desboys, sub sole aureo, via ad diuum Jacobum. 1552.* ([Côlophon:] *Parisiis Excudebat Benedictus Prenotius, sub stella aurea, via Frementella. Anno domini M.D. LII.*) 2 pts. in 1 vol. 4to. R 37524

BIBLE: LATIN.—*Sacra Biblia, Acri Stvdio, Ac Diligentia Emendata, Rerum, atque Verborum permultis, & perquam dignis Indicibus aucta.* . . . [With woodcuts.] ([Colophon:] *Venetiis Apvd Iolitos. M.D.LXXXVIII.*) 2 pts. in 1 vol. 4to. R 37526

* * Title within woodcut border.

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